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MEMORANDUMS

MADE IN

IRELAND

IN THE AUTUMN OF

1852.

BY JOHN FORBES, M.D. F.R.S.

HON. D.C.L. OXON.

PHYSICIAN TO HER MAJESTY'S HOUSEHOLD,

Author of 'A Physician's Holiday.'

WITH A MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Rerum ipsarum cognitio vera e rebus ipsis est.
JUL. SCAL.

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ERRATA.

Vol. I, page 249, line 5 from top, *for* "ten" *read* "thirty."
Vol. II, „ 83, line 2 from bottom, *for* "eight" *read* "eleven."
„ 84, line 5 from top, *insert*, after the words "Christmas Day," the following words—"Ascension Day, Corpus Christi, Good Friday,—the last three not being restricted to fixed days of the month."
„ 192, first line from top, *for* "Belfast" *read* "Carrickfergus."

MEMORANDUMS MADE IN IRELAND.

CHAPTER I.

BALLINA.

We left Castlebar in the afternoon, on our way to Ballina, where we purposed resting for the night. The route presented nothing very worthy of notice until we reached Lough Conn.

The country through which we passed on leaving Castlebar possesses little that calls for notice, being of that common, coarse, semi-cultivated kind which in Ireland is so uninteresting when not relieved by the vicinity of lakes or mountains. As we approach Lough Conn, however, the tameness of the flat corn-patched moorland disappears, and is succeeded by the sterner and bolder features of a stony desert, the whole surface being almost covered by the huge projecting shoulders of the subjacent rock, or overlaid by vast boulders broken from the same.

Skirting the west shores of the lake for a time, the road at length brought us under the base of one of the roots or rather branches of the great

Nephin Mountain, the highest in Mayo. At this point we had reached the extremity of the lake we had been skirting; but we soon found that the road which, turning to the east, led us along its northern shore, merely traversed a narrow neck or tongue of land which separates this from another lake of much greater extent. This strip of land was, in its natural state, cut across by the small stream which unites the two lakes, but is now artificially united to the opposite bank by a bridge. This bridged neck of land is termed the Pontoon.

Both these lakes are usually called Lough Conn, though this name properly belongs to the larger or upper lough only, the lower having the distinctive appellation of Lough Cullen. Together, these lakes are of great extent, the upper, or Lough Conn proper, being eight miles in length, its greatest width three miles and a quarter, and its mean breadth one mile and a half. The lower lake, or Lough Cullen, is about two miles and a half long, and one mile and a half broad. This last, except at the point which adjoins the upper, has nothing picturesque about it, its shores being flat and marshy. A good deal of the upper lake is bordered in the same manner, but the fine range of mountains that bound it on the west, breaking up its shores with their rugged spurs, and finally terminating in the great Nephin, give at once a grand and picturesque aspect to the vast expanse of water at their feet.

This Nephin is a finely-shaped mountain-mass, quite isolated by its great elevation, and visible at a far distance in all directions. It rises 2646 feet above the sea level.

The flat shores of Lough Conn proper, are, on the east side, if possible, still more rocky than those of Lough Cullen, and the whole tract of country around retains the same character to a considerable distance from the water. The upper lake is fed by the river Deel, which enters its north-western extremity, as well as by other streams from its mountain boundary. The lower lake is partially fed by streams coming from the south, namely the Castlebar river, and another whose name I did not learn. The Castlebar or Clydagh river is the outlet of a series of small lakes near Castlebar, which together occupy a space nearly three miles in length and a quarter of a mile in breadth. The Clydagh escapes from that portion of the lake called Lough Dan, close to the town of Castlebar, and has a course of nine or ten miles, part of it through a flat marsh, before it ends in Lough Cullen. Both the lakes finally discharge their waters by a channel not more than a quarter of a mile long, running from the lower extremity of Lough Cullen into the river Moy, whose seaward course brings it very close to this lake. The small river forming the outlet of the lakes is very shallow as well as short, being partially dry in the summer. The elevation of these lakes above the sea level is stated to be from thirty-seven to forty-

two feet, a difference of five feet having been observed between the winter and summer level.

I am led to give these particulars a little more in detail on account of a very singular anomaly which exists in the currents of these lakes,—nothing less, indeed, than the occasional *reverse* flow of the lower lake into the upper. Of the truth of this fact I received, on the spot, the most distinct evidence from persons resident there, and, among others, from a very intelligent member of the constabulary force, Mr. William Browne, at that time, and for many years previously, stationed at the barracks close by. I have since had some further communications with Mr. Browne, which leave no doubt whatever on my mind as to the fact of the backward flow, though I have not yet succeeded to my own perfect satisfaction in accounting for it. As far as I can learn, the reversed flow has no set times of recurrence; at least none of my informants have ascertained this fact, if it exists; but Mr. Browne and some of his local friends think it occurs most frequently in summer and harvest. Neither had any one noted the period of its duration. They had, however, all seen the flow itself, and Mr. Browne states that when it exists, the current is very strong, much stronger than the ordinary current downwards.

It has been stated that this singular change of current is connected with the ebb and flow of the sea; but this is quite untrue in fact, and could not possibly be the case, the only connection of the

lakes with the sea being by the river Moy, in which the tide does not rise higher than the town of Ballina, which is ten miles below Lough Conn.

Several other explanations present themselves.

Knowing, as we do, the power of a long-continued wind blowing in one direction to raise or heap-up water on the opposite shores, as is seen in the Red Sea, and on some parts of the eastern shores of America, we might suppose that such might be the case here; but those who are best acquainted with the phenomenon assert that it is unconnected with any such precursor.

Another, and much more probable explanation, is the sudden elevation of the level of the lower lake by great partial rains, which, while flooding the Clydagh and other small rivers that run into the lower lake, may have missed the vicinity of the upper. Obvious difficulties in this explanation are (1) the immense quantity of water that would be requisite to raise the whole surface of the lower lake (upwards of 2700 acres in extent) only a few inches; and (2) that, in the case of partial falls of rain, the probability is much greater that they should affect the upper lake, owing to its mountainous borders, than the lower lake: still, when it is considered that there are several small rivers draining a wide extent of country, falling into the lower lake, and that it is very much shallower than the upper, the explanation seems far from untenable.

A third explanation occurs to me, founded on the

relation of the river Moy to the lower lake. This river, in its progress seaward, and before turning away, as it were, from the lower lake with a rounded sweep, runs for a part of its course almost in an opposite direction to that of the short river that joins it from the lower lake. Now, if we conceive the river Moy to be flooded from any of the ordinary causes that flood rivers, we can easily understand that it may not only dam up the outlet from the lower lake, but produce such an accumulation of water in it as to make it flow into the upper. Unfortunately I am as yet unable to state, from any local authority, whether this hypothesis is at all borne out by facts.

However, I think that one or other of the latter two hypotheses, and, still more, the co-existence of the two supposed phenomena, a likely-enough occurrence, will go far to set at rest this curious question.

Our friends at the Pontoon barracks gave us another piece of information respecting these lakes which is worth noticing. They were formerly, and from time immemorial, celebrated for the great quantity of trout and salmon contained in them. These have within these dozen years sustained a wonderful diminution, especially the trout, from the introduction of pike into the lakes about the time specified. How this introduction took place no one seems to know, though there is so pretty a legend got up respecting it, that makes one almost regret that it is not true. It is stated that an old poacher

on the lakes, convicted and punished for his misdemeanours, conceived a project of revenge on those who had been instrumental in his disgrace, that should touch them all very nearly. This was the introduction of some living pikes into the lake, which he is reported to have brought from some distant lough in the county of Galway.

After the stony desert immediately beyond Lough Conn, the country becomes once more boggy and moorland, and so continues, intermingled with small farms and patches of corn-land here and there, until we reach Ballina: this we did about seven o'clock.

We had remarked in every part of the country which we had yet passed through, the singular fondness of the farmers of Ireland for *enclosures*. In the smallest farms, and in mere cottage holdings, and quite as much on the poorest and wildest spots as on good lands, no portion of ground occupied, or intended to be occupied by any one, is ever seen without a fence or enclosure of some sort—almost always in the shape of rude stone walls. We had a curious example of this in the vicinity of Lough Conn, where the slope of a small hill on the roadside is divided into some dozens of little enclosures —many of them not bigger than the site of a good-sized house—by huge stone walls, although more than half the enclosed space in each consisted literally of earth-fast blocks of stone. It looked almost as if the fences had been reared to protect the stones! I suppose the immediate cause of this

superfluity of fencing, in many cases, rests on the necessity of disposing of the stones dug from the soil in clearing it, and hence their arrangement in the form of walls. But the same system prevails among the bogs and moors, where there is often no stones, showing that there must be some other reason for its being so universal in Ireland.

While on this subject I may mention another small peculiarity in the exterior economy of farming in Ireland, which struck me equally, and more particularly from the circumstance of its universality throughout the whole island: this is the existence in every common field-gate of two huge round pillars of stone with conical tops, something in the fashion of the Round Towers in miniature. I got into the habit of naming these Pecksniff gate-posts, after Dickens's hero, from the striking contrast between their vast pretensions and small performance. Very generally it happened that the fields at whose entrance these huge gate-posts stood, were small and insignificant, and not at all tenable in their fence-capacity; and very commonly also the gate itself (generally iron) was not fixed in these stone posts, but had a separate metal upright to swing on: so that they were in reality more for ornament than use.

These Pecksniffian towerlets are also rendered more conspicuous by being whitewashed with lime; a practice, by the way, vastly more general, as applied to cottages and small houses, in Ireland, than I ever saw elsewhere. Whatever may be the

blackness of all within doors, you will generally find that the outside walls of the cottages are nicely whitewashed, except in the cases, comparatively rare, where they are built of turf. These peculiarities, also, like the stone fencing, originate in local causes. I believe the gate-posts are made of such large diameter (a couple of feet or so) because it is easier and cheaper, in so stony a land, to build with large stones than with small; and they and the cottages are whitewashed because limestone is, fortunately for Ireland, a very frequent rock in most parts of it.

Ballina is a neat, and looks like a thriving town. It is beautifully situated on the banks of the river Moy, about five miles above the point where it enters Killala Bay. It consists, indeed, of two towns, divided by the river, and united by the two bridges which cross it. The larger town, Ballina proper, lies on the left bank, and the smaller, Ardnaree, on the right; but they are both, properly speaking, but one town, and usually receive the one general name of Ballina. There has been a remarkable decrease in the population of these towns of late years, particularly of Ardnaree, as will appear from the following abstract of the last two censuses.

	1841.	1851.	Decrease.
Ballina . . .	5313	4635	678
Ardnaree . . .	1699	583	1116

Ballina proper contains one or two excellent streets, and several others of tolerable size and

neatness. Like all other Irish towns, it also contains many small cottage-like houses and some dirty and confined lanes, more particularly Ardnaree.

The Moy is a splendid river, and, dashing as it does over some bold rapids in the very middle of the town, gives to the eye and ear a perpetual suggestion of activity and liveliness which is very agreeable to a civic population. The tide flows up to the town, but the river is not navigable farther than a mile or a mile and a half below it, and only then to vessels not exceeding 400 or 450 tons. The river between the town and Quay runs over a succession of rocky shelves, and its banks, particularly the left, are finely wooded, and contain several gentlemen's seats. There is always a steam-tug on the river to assist the navigation, which, for a small Irish port, seems considerable. The pilot told me that about forty ships came into the harbour in the course of the year, either loaded or to load.

There was formerly a large export trade in corn, and the people at the Quay informed me that there had been a larger exportation this year of oats and barley than in all the years since the famine. Of late years, among the imports, Indian corn has been a principal article.

There is a fine salmon fishery in this river, employing many hands during the season, and also a good many at other times to *keep* the rivers and lakes in the interior frequented by the fish. The men seem badly paid, the best hands receiving only

seven shillings a week, even when employed by night as well as by day. The fish is commonly exported to Liverpool, being conveyed from the river in a small sloop to be put on board the Liverpool vessels in Killala Bay. The total export of salmon this year is supposed to amount to from 120 to 130 tons, and reckoned to realise to the proprietors a profit of near 5000*l.* These gentlemen pay a rental of 1100*l.* for the fishery, besides a constant outlay of about 500*l.* for watching and protecting the haunts of the fish. The present season has been particularly successful.

The small village called The Quay is almost entirely occupied by fishermen. The cottages are small and untidy, and not half-furnished. There is a small plot of ground attached to most of them, to the extent of 16 or 17 perches; the rent varying from 20*s.* to 30*s.* per annum. There are about forty fishermen in this village, or rather forty men whose avowed occupation is fishing; for they assured me that very few of them could follow their trade for want of the necessary means. They said that nearly all their boats have gone to decay; and, since the years of famine, they have not been able to get either new boats or nets, or other necessary tackle. The men were strong and active-looking, and expressed themselves as most anxious to follow their occupation if they were enabled to do so.

I asked these men if they would and could pay a weekly rent for boats and tackle, if they were provided by others. They caught eagerly at the idea,

and said that every man would willingly pay a shilling per week for the use of the boat, &c. If these statements are correct—and I see no reason for doubting them—the facts stated seem to indicate as great a want of enterprise among the commercial class in Ireland, as among the people themselves. Surely in such a town as Ballina some individual, or some association of individuals, might be found, who, merely as a commercial speculation—to say nothing of higher considerations—might give these poor men the means of following their employment. It seems strange that the mere desire of obtaining a better fish-market—which, I believe, hardly exists at present in Ballina—should not, of itself, set on foot some such undertaking. There can, I think, be little doubt that it would *pay*, even commercially: that it would inevitably pay most richly in the higher mart of benevolence, there can be no doubt at all.

It was really most painful, and in many ways, to see those fine sturdy fellows—willing to work, and able by their work to support their families and benefit the public at the same time—all loitering idly at their cottage-doors, and half-starved, solely because no man or men among their neighbours—who must be aware of their condition—would take the trouble to consider the means whereby their evils might be removed. The least consideration, I am convinced, would inevitably lead to their removal.

I feel the more assured of the success of this plan of supplying the fishermen with boats, &c. at a weekly

or annual rent, because I know it to have been a custom formerly in use among the fishermen in some parts of Scotland; the proprietor of the village supplying all the boats, and leasing them out for a term of years, under a contract of repair and renewal at certain fixed times.

While writing out these Memorandums, I have received from a friend a communication on the subject of the Scottish practice, which I subjoin. From this it appears that the custom prevalent when I had a knowledge of the country, some fifty years since, has now become obsolete; but the fact of its existence so long sufficiently proves its practicability. Whether my Irish friends might, by greater care in the organisation of the plan, eschew the causes of its decay in the Banffshire fishing villages, I do not know; but, at any rate, the prospect of even temporary success ought, in my opinion, to be reason sufficient for attempting its introduction at Ballina and elsewhere along the west coast of Ireland, under the state of distress now so painfully prevalent there. My friend's statement is as follows:—

"About twenty years ago the proprietors on the east coast of Scotland, particularly those of the fishing villages on the Banffshire coast, Port-Gordon, Buckie, Portessie, Findochty, and Portknockie, were in the practice of affording to a crew of fishermen (six in number) a new boat, at a cost of 25*l.* or 28*l.*; the fishermen supplying, at their own expense, sails, rigging, &c. They paid the proprietor in money and

fish to the amount of 6*l.* 6*s.* per annum for the space of seven years. This sum stood also as payment for the privilege of landing their boats, and as ground-rent for their houses. At the end of seven years the boat was considered to be worn out; when the crew paid the proprietor 1*l.* as the value of the old boat, and the proprietor in return paid the crew 11*l.* 5*s.* to aid them to get a new one: this was called the *short run,* and was renewed at the end of every seven years, upon the regular payment of 6*l.* 6*s.* yearly. The crew had to give the boat all the necessary repairs she might require during this term at their own expense. The fishermen had to find themselves in all their fishing materials, namely, nets, lines, &c.

"The above plan appeared to work well for a long time. It is now, however, almost done away with. It became a difficult matter for the proprietors to get the fishermen to keep together: they were always breaking up their crews, through quarrels amongst themselves, and of course the rents were but indifferently paid; so much so, that the proprietors have now in general declined to assist them with new boats. The general practice now is for each fisherman to pay the proprietor 10*s.* 6*d.* for the privilege of landing his boat, and from 10*s.* 6*d.* to 12*s.* 6*d.* for the ground-rent of his house, yearly."

I subjoin, in a note,[1] the remaining portion of my

[1] "The haddock fishing commences here about the 1st of October, and continues until the end of May. The fishermen sell all their fish to the fish-curers, who smoke them for the Glasgow, Leith, London,

friend's communication, as containing some statistics which may also be useful in Ireland.

The National Schools at Ballina are on the usual excellent plan. At the time of my visit to the boys' school there were on the books 175, but only 60 present. The average attendance during the last year was about 100. The present comparatively small attendance was accounted for partly by the period of the year (harvest), by the vicinity of the vacation, and by the unfavorable effects of the recent election for Members of Parliament. There was only one Protestant at present in the school; but at a former period there had been as many as twelve. The master is a Catholic, and gives the usual religious catechetical instruction at the stated times fixed by the Board. The parish priests visit the school for purposes of supervision and inspection, but never instruct the pupils in religion.

and Liverpool markets, where they bring from 20*s.* to 40*s.* per barrel, according to the supply. The curers pay the fishermen about 16*s.* for 156 haddocks; the barrel containing about 230 to 250 haddocks, and costing the curer 25*s.* the barrel, besides other charges and expense of transit.

"From the 12th of July to the middle of September our fishermen occupy themselves in prosecuting the herring fishing, and, in general, with very good success. The average gain to the individual fisherman may run from 80*l.* to 100*l.* per annum. The men certainly have a great deal of materials to keep up, so that, on the whole, they may be said to be in debt.

"The population of Buckie is about 2700, and the number of active fishermen 362. Thirty-two large boats go to the haddock fishing during the winter, and six smaller ones. Buckie also fits out about 175 boats to the herring fishing yearly. These boats, when new, cost from 60*l.* to 70*l.* each; and the fleet of nets about 70*l.* to 80*l.*"

The female school, although belonging to the National establishments, is conducted by the Sisters of Mercy, four or five of whom attend the school by turns. There are also two paid mistresses in the school. At the time of my visit there were only 32 girls in attendance, owing to the prevalence of the same reasons which affected the numbers in the boys' school. Some weeks back, however, there were between 200 and 300 in attendance. In July there were on the roll 389. There is not, at present, one Protestant in the school. This is an industrial as well as an ordinary educational school. The following is the state of these schools, according to the official returns of the National Board, dated September each year:

	1850.	1851.
Boys' School . .	267	162
Girls' School . .	347	362

There is a Protestant school in Ardnaree, attached to the English Parochial Church, and supported to a considerable extent by the Rector. It does not appear in the list of the schools assisted by the Church Education Society. The school-house is small, and in every way inferior to the National School. At the time of my visit there were on the books 58 boys, with an average attendance of 25; and 42 girls, with an average attendance of 20. Formerly (before the famine) the schools seem to have been better attended, the boys then reaching to the number of 130, and the girls to 110. A short

period of the school-time, in the girls' school, is devoted to industrial work. The children are expected to pay one penny or twopence per week, but few pay anything. The master told me that nearly one half of his pupils were Catholics, but the mistress said the Catholics only amounted to about a fifth part among the girls. All who attend the schools read the Scriptures, and must learn the Creed and the Lord's Prayer; but the Catholics are excused from the catechetical instruction. No food or clothing has been given to the children in these schools for the last two years.

There is also a very neat and well-organised Presbyterian School in Ballina. At the time of my visit it had on its books 52 boys and girls. All these are Catholics, except six, and all of them read the Scriptures and receive the same religious instruction. Twenty-five of the Catholic children even attend the Presbyterian Church. This is an industrial school, and seems excellently managed. No bribes in the way of food or clothing are held out to the Catholics to attend it; but the girls receive the profit on their own work, and obtain all the materials at a cheaper rate.

This is a *Mission School*, established with a view to the ultimate conversion of the Roman Catholics, and was the first battery I had seen erected by the Presbyterian powers against the fortress of Catholicism. It is necessary to distinguish such schools from the common or ordinary schools so liberally

provided by the Presbyterian Church. Wherever any of her ministers are to be found, whether in the Presbyterian land of Ulster, or elsewhere, the establishment of a school may be said to be almost as much a matter of course as the erection of a chapel, education being never for a moment forgotten by this intellectual sect of Christians. But these Mission Schools are on a different footing, and have, in some respects, a different object. They are, like the Church Mission Schools of the English Church, for the most part planted among Roman Catholic populations; and the officers connected with them do not confine themselves exclusively to instruction in the schools. In each district where any of these schools exist, there is a local missionary and a catechist or Scripture reader, whose duty it is to give religious instruction in school and out of school.

There are in Connaught two distinct sections of these Presbyterian Mission Schools; one supported by the Presbyterian body at large from certain funds derived from various associated bodies, collections at churches, and private contributions; the other set on foot and maintained by the "Belfast Ladies' Relief Association for Connaught." These two Societies, though having objects in common, are yet distinct in their organisation and management.

Of the schools which may be termed "General Presbyterian Mission Schools," there are at this time no less than forty-three in the counties

of Mayo, Sligo, Roscommon, and Leitrim, containing in all about 2000 children. Of this number only a fifth or sixth part are Protestants. "In these forty schools (says one of the Reports) there are forty-seven teachers engaged in giving instruction in common literature, and in Scriptural and industrial knowledge. The number on the roll is above 2000—between fifteen and sixteen hundred in daily attendance—and about one half of them are working at the sewed muslin manufacture. Each district is independent of the others, as to special oversight and management; but all are conducted on the same general principles, under the care of the general superintendent." Beside these schools there are twenty or thirty more of the same kind in the south and west of Ireland, and a considerable number more (perhaps forty) which are only partially supported by the funds above mentioned. It will be further seen by the following extracts from the same Report, that the schools are, for the most part, industrial schools, and the pupils chiefly girls; and it will be observed that the plan of the English Church Mission Schools, in giving physical relief to the children, is likewise adopted to a certain extent:—"As most of the schools are female schools, and the young people had little or nothing to do, and much poverty and destitution prevail continually, it seemed to be important to teach them some branch of female industry; and the sewed muslin manufacture, so long practised in

Ulster, was found, after trial of other kinds of work, to be most available and profitable. This useful art is now, therefore, taught in all the schools where the teachers are female, and is forming the children to habits of industry and diligence, of which, at first, they seemed almost incapable. The Relief fund, for supplying some food and clothing to the more destitute children, has proved a very important auxiliary to the work. It helps to sustain them until able, by their own hands, to support themselves. It has made the schools a refuge also for a great number of orphans, and a blessing to them, both in respect to industrial and saving knowledge. Thus, in one district alone, ninety children are to be found in our schools, of whom fifty-six have lost their fathers, and nineteen are without mothers, and fifteen are wholly orphan; while the whole of the children of one small village have been rescued from starvation and idleness, and their fatal accompaniments and fruits. Of these there are fifty now able to support themselves, and twenty-five who can do so in part."

The Belfast Ladies' Relief Association for Connaught was set on foot in 1846, I believe, by Dr. Edgar, its present President, but was, from the beginning, supported equally by all denominations of Protestants. Its great objects were to introduce industrial training of such kind as to enable girls and young women to gain their livelihood by means of a trade, and to promote the Protestant religion,

not by teaching "any of the peculiar principles of any one denomination of Protestants, but to act as pioneers for all, teaching alone the simple truths of the Gospel."

Whatever may have been the effect of these schools in making converts to Protestantism, their influence in making converts to civilisation, and thus improving the social and economical condition of the female part of the population, has been immense. This is sufficiently manifested by the simple fact, stated in one of the late Reports of the Association, that no less a sum than 7500*l.* has been received by the pupils of the Connaught schools as their earnings for a single year. This estimate is formed from the returns of all the schools, the General as well as the Association Schools.

This "sewed muslin manufacture" has of late years become a most important article of commerce in Ireland. It was stated in a paper by Mr. Holden, read before the meeting of the British Association at Belfast, in the first week of September, that a quarter of a million of persons (young women and girls chiefly) are now employed in this manufacture, in Ulster alone, at the weekly pay of from 4*s.* to 6*s.*; and that from 500,000*l.* to 600,000*l.* are annually paid for labour, exclusive of materials. A great advantage attending on this kind of work is its being carried on at the domestic fireside, and, as just stated, in schools.

Although the great staple of the work done in the schools consists of this "sewed muslin," knitting,

stitching, and all other kinds of needlework are also taught and exercised in them. It has been found, in numerous instances, that the children belonging to these schools, even those of tender age, have been able to assist, and have assisted very considerably, their parents in their difficulties.

The Union Workhouse in Ballina contained, at the time of my visit, only 750 persons of all ages, among whom there were between twenty and thirty Protestants. There were in the schools 324 boys and girls; and 150 were in the hospital, of whom fourteen were labouring under ophthalmia.[1]

Last year, the smallest number at any time in the house was 1375. According to the official reports, there were relieved in the Union in 1850, 5954 in the house, and 4169 out of the house; and in 1851, 3390 in-doors and 20 out-doors.

There is a farm of twenty-five acres attached to the workhouse, on which the boys that have not reached their fourteenth year are alone employed. At the period of my visit, indeed, all hands, of whatever age or sex, that were able to work, were so employed; but this was a mere temporary harvest labour. The true principle on which such works should be conducted are laid down in the last Report of the Commissioners as follows:

"In carrying out those provisions of the statute

[1] In a communication received from the master, dated January 31, I find the numbers in the house were still further reduced at that date, there being then only 645 in the house, and only five cases of ophthalmia.

11 and 12 Vic., cap. 25, which permit farms to the extent of twenty-five acres to be taken for the instruction of children under sixteen years of age in an improved system of agriculture, we have endeavoured to guard as much as practicable against any evasion of the object of the statute by substituting adult labour for that of the young persons for whose employment and instruction these provisions were enacted. We have, therefore, usually stipulated that such farms should be held in connection with buildings wholly detached from the main workhouse, and fitted for the reception and maintenance of young persons to be instructed in agriculture; and in most instances this arrangement has been effected.

"The desire of Boards of Guardians to take farms under this statute has often been connected with an intention to obtain profit from the labour of the adult male inmates, by employing them on the farm. To such employment of adult workhouse inmates we have objected, not only as going beyond the terms of the Act of Parliament, but as tending to make residence in the workhouse less irksome to persons able to work, than it is when employment is found for them within the enclosed yards of the building; and since the number of this class of paupers has decreased, there has been less anxiety shown to take additional land beyond the twenty-five acres authorised by the original Act. In some Unions, as in those of Galway, Ballina, Clogheen,

Dungarven, New Ross, Gorey, Kilrush, and Ennis, the Guardians have carried out the precise object of the Legislature in giving young persons under sixteen the benefit of instruction in improved modes of agriculture, and these exertions have been reported to us by some of our Inspectors as productive of very useful and beneficial results."

It would appear that the Ballina farm, conducted on these principles, has answered its purposes admirably, as will be manifest from the following extracts, taken from Capt. Hamilton's Report, dated April, 1852:

"The Ballina Workhouse Farm consists of twenty-five statute acres. There is an Agriculturist, who is paid at the rate of 35*l.* per annum, with a house, but no rations, He resides in the Auxiliary Workhouse, and has entire charge of the Agricultural class, which at present numbers only 39 boys, between fourteen and sixteen years of age, and 14 boys under fourteen years of age. The latter have only been under instruction for one week, having been sent to fill vacancies. There are sixteen acres prepared for crops, which will consist this year of oats, turnips, flax, parsnips, carrots, onions, &c. I cannot, perhaps, convey a better idea of the success of the system than by repeating what the Agriculturist complained to me of—'Why, Sir, I no sooner teach a boy anything, and make him useful, than I lose him.'

"The farm may be said to have been only fairly in operation this year, and already 28

boys, most of whom were orphans, and who had been for years inmates of the house, have found employment out of the house, and have, I am led to believe, given satisfaction to their employers.

"The greater number of boys who have been instructed, or are at present under instruction at the farm, are orphans; they look very healthy, and are well behaved. *Indirectly* the farm has hitherto paid. For, if the cost of maintenance and clothing the boys, who have through its means ceased to be a burden on the Rates of the Union, be taken into consideration, there is a present saving of at least 120*l.* per annum, not taking into account the difference of cost between turning out useful members of society, and those whose training entirely unfits them for anything but crime and misery,—in either of which courses, I need hardly remark, they would prove a heavy and constant burden on the industrious classes.

"I regard the system (slight as has been my experience of it), when commenced with caution and under favorable circumstances, as one of the chief means of remedying the lamentable effects of the last few years, which have made the workhouses of some Unions the only, at present, ostensible home of many hundreds of orphan children."

The boys employed on the farm receive a couple of hours' schooling before going to work.

The dietary in this house is the one ordinarily used. I only remember a little peculiarity in the bread. Instead of being made into loaves, it

is formed into rounded thinnish cakes, each of the precise weight allowed to one person, and baked on a hot plate. It is made of three fourths Indian meal and one fourth whole wheaten flour. I thought it better and more palatable than the usual loaf bread.

The following is the history of the Temperance movement in Ballina:—Father Mathew visited the town in 1843, on which occasion about 600 took the pledge. A Temperance Hall was established, with the usual accompaniments of newspapers, &c., and a band of music provided. The Society was faithful, and flourished for about three years, but, like so many others, became disorganised during the famine, and was broken up. Two years ago there were still about a hundred pledged members, but at the beginning of the present year the number had fallen as low as thirty.

Fortunately the Temperance cause in Ballina has been taken up by the Sisters of Mercy, who, to the number of eight, have established themselves in a convent here since last October. These ladies have already added a full hundred to the old remnant, and are zealously and successfully following up their triumph. Their plan is to accept pledges, at first, for a period of twelve months only, finding it much more easy to obtain them for that limited period; and well-judging that the great majority of those who have kept the pledge for that period will renew it permanently. These admirable ladies carry their

Christian zeal and practical good sense into this as into all their other undertakings. They are found to exercise a much greater supervision over their pledged clients than any other persons could do; and proportional results may be expected from their labours.

I mentioned these noble Sisters of Mercy once before, in my memorandums on Killarney; but they are so widely spread over Ireland, and so constantly to be found where good is to be done, that I feel it would be unjust alike to their profession and practice (which here, for once, are the same,) not to make them the express subject of a few memorandums in a book professedly treating of Ireland. I shall therefore take the occasion which here naturally presents itself, of telling what little I know about them.

Every one who has been in Catholic countries must have heard of and seen these Sisters at their various works of Charity and Mercy—educating the young, nursing the sick, feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, harbouring the homeless, imparting religion to improve the good and to restore the bad; and all, with that utter self-abnegation and self-devotion, and with that earnestness, tenderness, and patience, which can only spring from the profoundest conviction that, in so labouring, they are fulfilling God's will as revealed to man.

Of them, and of a few others—constituting a wonderfully-small minority of the great Christian community—it may be truly said, that they accept and follow, to the letter, the precepts and the prac-

tice of the great Founder of the Christian religion: not by useless self-sacrifice and barren holiness, but by actively ministering to the welfare and necessities of their fellow-creatures in accordance with that grand fundamental law of all true religion—To do unto others as one would desire that others should do unto him.

Into this small category of true practical Christians, I think we must admit some more of the religious orders existing in most Catholic countries, and now spread widely over Ireland. Of this kind are the Christian Brothers, already mentioned; the Sisters of Charity; and those communities of Nuns, who, like the Sisters of Mercy, consecrate their lives to the imparting of good to their neighbours—particularly to the poor and the young—in the form of Education. Under this head come especially the Nuns of the Presentation Order; also those of the Sacred Heart, of Loretto, Carmelite, &c. Of the two most active and most numerous of these Orders, the Presentation Nuns and the Sisters of Mercy, there are upwards of fifty separate establishments in Ireland, viz. 30 of the former and 24 of the latter, all of which, I believe, must be regarded as perennial fountains of good to their respective neighbourhoods.

In the First Report of the Commissioners on Irish Education in 1825, it is stated that there were then in Ireland thirty Nunnery Schools, containing 6310 girls. Of these thirty schools, no fewer than eighteen belonged to Nuns of the Presentation

Order. The following handsome tribute by the Commissioners to the teaching in these schools is, I believe, most just; and certainly not less so at this time than it was twenty-seven years since. "We have visited many of these schools, and have found them conducted with great order and regularity; and the children are, in general, well supplied with books and every school requisite. The Nuns are the teachers, and devote themselves to the duty of instruction with the most unwearied assiduity and attention. We were much impressed with the appearance of affection and respect on the part of the pupils towards their teachers which characterises these institutions in a remarkable degree."[1]

The following few memorandums, extracted from the Irish Catholic Registry of this year, show the work now being done in some of these establishments:

At the Carmelite Convent at New Ross, it is stated that there are 600 children in the schools. At the Presentation Convent at Drogheda, the schools are said to contain 1000 children. In Loretto House, Navan, besides forty lady boarders, there are two large day-schools for the poor, and 200 destitute children receive their breakfast daily. At the Presentation Convent at Limerick, there are 700 girls in the schools. There are two Convents of the Sisters of Mercy in Limerick; in one of these fifty servants out of place are lodged and supported;

[1] First Report, p. 88.

in the other, more than sixty orphans are maintained. It is stated that in these two convents, and in two others in the same diocese, there are no less than 2000 girls in the schools. The Sisters of the Convent of the Good Shepherd, in the same city, have charge of a Magdalen Asylum containing seventy penitents. In the two Convents of the Sacred Heart at Roscrea and Armagh, there are at one 60 young ladies, (boarders,) 30 day-scholars of a better class, and 400 poor children; at the other, a few boarders, 20 day-scholars, and about 400 poor children.

Although these establishments go all under the name of Convents or Nunneries, it must not be imagined that they are all of great extent, like many of the communities having similar names which are to be seen in other countries, or which we read of in our own, in former times. On the contrary, the great majority of them are small, having only such a number of members as are required for the active labours in which they are engaged. Thus, in the thirteen establishments of which I have taken note, the following numbers represent the total staff in each, including Novices, lay-sisters, &c.— 34, 20, 17, 16, 13, 11, 10, 8, 5. It would thus seem that the ancient and unnatural practice of the Catholic Church of congregating together, for mere devotional purposes, large numbers of young women who might have been useful in the world's work, has been most happily modified, at least in Ireland.

Some of the numbers in the above list are still, no doubt, a good deal too high; but I believe the strength in the majority of the institutions is not at all disproportioned to the active work done. If this regulating principle—of hands proportioned to work—is kept in view, there seems no reason why such religious establishments should not only be permitted but even encouraged, and this no less in the Protestant than the Catholic Church. The Catholics, indeed, seem to doubt whether there is sufficient earnestness and definiteness of belief among Protestants to originate or perpetuate among them such devoted communities; but surely the Reformed Church will not submit to an imputation which goes to the root of the superiority they claim over the Catholics.

As strikingly illustrative of the principles and practice adopted, and of the sentiments and feelings entertained by the inmates of these modern Nunneries, I cannot here refrain from quoting a portion of a letter lately addressed to an old friend, by a lady now a Nun in one of the Convents of the Sacred Heart above mentioned:

"I think you know that if I gave the best part of my life to education, it was, if not from enthusiasm, at least with it, and had not the Society of the Sacred Heart been devoted to that object, I should never have joined it. Not only the fact of the Society embracing all classes, from the palace to the cottage, nay, to the houseless orphan, but the

admirable method used in carrying it out, won my heart, and every day I may say I find my anticipations out-stripped. No house of ours can be without pupils, of as many of these classes as we have hands to cultivate, say, in general, four, viz., *young ladies,* day-scholars, (of the *middle classes generally,*) poor children, and orphans. These last are boarders, taken for nothing, if the house can afford it, or, at least, for the barest needful for food and clothing. Our *rule* for education is to give the best that can be given, keeping in view the modesty proper to our sex, balanced with the ever-increasing exigencies of the age. Accomplishments are usually taught by masters, under our constant surveillance of course. The course of studies comprise, besides the founding branches of reading, writing, history, geography, globes, arithmetic, style and composition, &c.; foreign languages, taught by natives, (an easy matter for us who are of many lands,) mineralogy, botany, zoology, in the regular classes, and these extended and detailed, joined to natural philosophy, geology, logic, and even a little chemistry, in what is called the superior class. You will perceive that we must begin with good health, good spirits, good talents, and good education; but all this does not suffice, we must be *good students* too, and even in the daily routine we must prepare our classes, poor little women as we are, neither more nor less than any professor of your colleges. To explain to you our system, (contained in a little *code,* binding

both mistresses and children) would require more time than I can now spare. It will suffice to say, that reward is ever preferred to punishment; indeed, were a pupil only sensible to the latter, her parents not only would be apprised of the fact, but we would request them (and this is no rare event) to prefer another convent. Need I say, that a higher principle than the *diffusion of knowledge* actuates us? We believe that man's mind was made to know God, and his heart to love him, his whole being given to serve him; we believe, too, that cultivating the mind to the fullest rational extent, opening the kindly feelings, training the young heart, and ever imparting accomplishments that will prevent idleness and worse,—all will render these dear children more capable of rising to the knowledge and love of their Creator and Heavenly Father, putting them in the way, each according to the duties of her sphere of life, of acquiring and imparting the largest portion of happiness here, and hereafter of receiving a higher reward and enjoying greater bliss; not to say, that we believe and hope many by our means will avoid, through God's blessing and the merits of his Son, an opposite lot in eternity."

In the poorer quarters of the towns of Ballina and Ardnaree, and in the fishing village and cottages near the quay, I found the poor people's cabins very little better than those I have formerly noticed. They were perhaps a shade cleaner, and had a

sprinkling more of furniture; but still they were much below the standard of even the humblest *comfort*, and altogether incompatible with what reason would indicate as the abodes of men able and willing to work, in a civilized land, and at the present stage of man's progress.

Beside the rent for the cottages, the poorest people seem to pay county cess, to the amount of 6*d*., 7*d*., or 9*d*. yearly. A small house in the town, the inhabitant's own property, and valued at 2*l*. per annum, paid 4*s*. 3*d*. rates, and 2*s*. 10*d*. cess. The same man rented a small portion of land, for which he paid 4*l*. yearly rent, the landlord paying all the public charges. The general amount of poor-rate in Ballina last year was 3*s*. 4*d*. in the pound per rate—that is, 6*s*. 8*d*. per annum: this year it is nearly the same, namely, 3*s*. 6*d*. per half-year's rate. In the year 1847, the rate was as high as 7*s*. 6*d*.—that is, 15*s*. in the pound. The county cess is paid by every one who rents a house valued at 1*l*. annual rental.

From the remarkable decrease of population in these towns shown above (nearly one fourth part), it cannot be doubted that the emigration from them has been very great, though only 202 persons are mentioned in the official returns as having sailed from this harbour in 1850, their destination being Canada. The most intelligent persons in this place are of opinion that emigration has gone quite far enough in reducing the proportion of population to

the exigencies of labour—that is to say, if labour were really sought for according to the wants and not according to the remunerative powers of the country.

The system of consolidation of farms has been carried to a considerable extent in the vicinity of Ballina. One proprietor has dispossessed all the cottagers, except about six, over a tract of 1500 acres; but, like Lord Lucan, he has not yet obtained tenants for the large farms thus created. In some places, the few small farmers who have remained in the country have done well, by obtaining land at a very low rate, and grazing cattle on it. Having no outlay but in the purchase of the cattle, they suffer little or no injury from having a mere holding from year to year, while the landlords are willing to accept almost a nominal rental until they obtain such tenants as they require.

In this neighbourhood, as elsewhere, the corn crops are excellent, better than for years before. Even the partial failure of the potatoes will not be greatly felt, as a much greater quantity than usual had been planted, almost as if to provide against the failure. But the failure of the crop has been actually less here than in any place previously visited by us; and the same result has been found to extend all over the country as far as Sligo.

From what I could learn, house-rent, and also the rent of land, was moderate in the town and

neighbourhood. For instance, the very respectable landlord of the hotel where we put up (the Royal Mail Hotel) told me that he had only two years since obtained a lease for sixty years of the hotel—a house of considerable extent—and twenty acres of land adjoining, at a rental of 70*l.* per annum. I feel assured that such a property, in any town of England, could not be obtained for a rental of half as much more.

On putting the usual question to intelligent men in this district, as to the causes of the depressed state of Ireland, relatively to England and Scotland, I met with the answer I so often received elsewhere —viz., that the main causes are: over-population, (now, however, remedied;) defective capital among the landlords and farmers; and defective enterprise in all classes. The same statement was repeated in almost the identical words used in the south, that when farmers make a little money they keep it close, and live on it without more exertion; or they make their sons gentlemen, and they soon spend it for them. Still, the general belief and the general expression among impartial and intelligent men was, that Ireland was decidedly improving; that the people were better off; that there was more enterprise, such as it was—more work, more trade, and, above all, more Hope.

CHAPTER II.

SLIGO.

We left Ballina for Sligo about noon, and reached the latter place early in the evening. Immediately on crossing the Ballina Bridge we entered the county of Sligo, the river Moy being the boundary between it and Mayo. The road, generally speaking, coasted the sea line, so that we were rarely out of sight of the open sea or of some of its manifold bays or inlets. These sea-views, always fine to the eye of passing travellers, constituted the chief, if not the only attractive features in this day's route. We had, to be sure, for a considerable portion of the latter part of our journey, a fine range of hills on our right-hand, (the Lurgan hills,) the northern extremity of which we closely rounded at the small town of Ballysadere, about three miles from Sligo.

Ballysadere is beautifully situated at the foot of the Lurgan hills, and at the head of the southern horn of Sligo Bay, called Ardnaglass Harbour, and is rendered still more picturesque by being traversed by the united streams of the Owenbeg and Arrow, which rush with great impetuosity over a succession of rocky ledges so as to constitute a

series of fine rapids within the very precincts of the town. From this part of the road also, and indeed long before we reached Ballysadere, we had constantly in our eye the beautiful and finely-shaped hill of Knocknara, shooting up from the sea-bank at the entrance of Ardnaglass Harbour to the height of a thousand feet, crowned with a singular-looking isolated rock, which makes one doubt at first whether it is the work of nature or art.

The general aspect of the country, however, becomes greatly improved in regard both to cultivability and cultivation so soon as we enter the county of Sligo. The bogs are fewer and the farms are larger; and although the general style of the cottages could hardly be said to be much better, they presented decided indications of greater substance on the part of the cottagers. For the first time since commencing our journey, we began to recognise, as an ordinary attendant at the cabin door, that animal which has always been regarded as the familiar household friend of the Irish. In all parts of the country previously visited, we scarcely ever met with a pig in the cabin of a mere cottier, and their presence was even rare in the homesteads of the small farmer. The race, as formerly mentioned, had almost been extirpated by the dire necessities of the year of famine, and the poverty of the people had hitherto prevented its regeneration.

We had other indications, also, of the improved

condition of the people during this day's journey. Almost for the first time, in Ireland, we saw an orchard now and then adjoining a small farm-house, and in one cottage garden, at least, we gladly recognised, (and for the first time also,) that emblem of cheerful industry, a bee-hive.

What a contrast is presented by the wayside cottages of England, need not be said; but I fear it must be said that so general an absence of the bee,—the only profitable stock that involves no outlay,—is a melancholy proof that the Irish cottagers are far behind their English brethren even in the desire to work out their own comfort. But the want, or comparative feebleness of this desire, indicated by so many other things in the cottage-life of Ireland, is also, I believe, a proof of another want for which the cottagers of Ireland cannot be made responsible,—I mean the want of that more instructed and more well-to-do class of small gentry which is scattered so plentifully throughout the villages and rural districts of England.

Absenteeism of the great lords and lairds is, no doubt, one of the main sources of the evils of Ireland; but the absenteeism,—or, to speak more justly, the want or deficiency of the class referred to,—is fraught with still worse consequences. It is greatly from the example, counsel, and assistance of this class of persons,—well termed the middle class, as being the link between the rich and

poor,—that the lowest members of the community derive the inclination and the means of increasing their own comforts and of improving their position in life. With such a middle class as this interspersed among the peasantry, and with a resident Aristocracy like that of England, ever ready to co-operate in all schemes of relief and improvement relating to the poor, we should, I think, soon find a wonderful change in the industrial habits and the domestic comforts of the people of Ireland. At present, they have few friends and patterns and advisers of this sort, except their priests, whose enforced poverty and defective domestic relations deprive them of much of the power to aid them, which their inclination would unquestionably lead them to exercise if they had the means. For much, therefore, if not for all their social deficiencies and inferiority, the peasantry of Ireland are to be pitied not condemned; they are unfortunate, not criminal.

In the actual and most unhappy relations in which the Church establishment stands to the great body of the poor (the Catholics) of Ireland, the parochial English clergy and their families are most inadequate substitutes for the pattern class referred to, and can generate only an infinitesimal portion of that amount of social good which flows over the whole soil of England from the thousand homesteads of her clergy. For obvious reasons, the exertions of the pastors of the Established Church

in Ireland to benefit the poor, must be mainly confined to their own flocks, a miserable minority of the great body of the people, and a minority, too, much less destitute, generally speaking, than the majority. In this important relation of the clergy to the lower class of their parishioners, I see a strong argument in favour of payment by the State of the parochial ministers; but I also see in it the necessity of such payment being extended to every denomination of ministers. It is truly painful, in the present condition of things, to see the great body of the true pastors of the poor, the Catholic clergy, instead of being able to aid their flocks, pecuniarily or otherwise, condemned to accept their own scanty livelihood from them. So long as this is the case, the parish priest is necessarily disqualified from assuming that position of superiority in social station, which I regard as of so much consequence to the temporal welfare of the humbler class of their parishioners. And, it need hardly be added, that such a disqualification operates with tenfold force in such a country as Ireland, so destitute, as we have seen, of the class of lay gentry, and others of a class somewhat lower but still fitted to benefit those beneath them, as well by their means as by their example.

While stopping to change horses at the small village of Dromore West, about twelve miles from Ballina, I was able to ascertain the few following particulars respecting a Presbyterian School established

there about five years: one of the schools formerly mentioned as emanating from the Belfast Ladies' Association. This school, at the time of my visit, contained about 100 children, who are nearly all Catholics: in the boys' school there was not one Protestant. There were nearly four times as many girls as boys in the school, a disproportion readily explained by the fact that the girls' schools are Industrial Schools, in which a good deal of money is gained by the muslin work done in it. The schoolmistress told me that she had paid as much as 25*l.* for work in a fortnight, and that she now sometimes pays as much as 15*l.* But for this work and its resulting pay, the greater part of the girls, being orphans, deserted, or inadequately supported, would be in the workhouse.

There is also a National School in this village, but I had not time to visit it. According to the official reports, it had on the books 85 boys and 58 girls in September, 1850, and 55 boys and 65 girls in September, 1851.

In approaching the town of Sligo, as we did, from the west, the traveller is surprised to be told that he is almost arrived at it,—that it is but a furlong before him, and so on,—while nothing can be seen of it, except one or two public buildings, which are afterwards found to be more than a mile from it. The fact is, that Sligo lies in a deep valley, on the banks of its own harbour, and conse-

quently on the sea-level, while a partial rising of the ground still intervenes between the spectator and it, as he descends the slope of its surrounding hills. Nevertheless, the site of nearly all its streets cannot be called flat, as the acuteness of the angle formed by the hills constituting the valley, produces a marked slope on either side on which the houses are built. The centre of the valley below the town is filled by the arm of the sea constituting the harbour, and in the town by the river Garrogue, which divides it into two parts. Both these form fine features in the immediate aspect of the town, while the landscape that bounds it, comprising at once exquisite views of the mountains, the bay, and the sea, may fairly claim to be at once beautiful and picturesque.

The town itself contains very little worthy of note. There are, to be sure, two fair bridges joining the two portions of the town, a spacious county jail, two tolerably good-looking churches, a large but clumsy Catholic chapel, a neat Infirmary, and the ruins of a fine old Dominican Abbey; but, with the exception of the last named, none of the structures are remarkable. There are two or three tolerable streets, but the majority are small, poor, and rather untidy. There are two hotels of considerable size, but they are inferior in appearance to those of most of the towns previously visited by us, and that where we put up was certainly not first-rate. The harbour, so beautiful a feature in so many Irish

towns, retains the same character here, although I believe it is not so good as it looks, being obstructed by a rather impracticable bar, which mars its navigation. Ships, however, of a considerable size come up to the town, and it can boast, I am told, of having the most commerce of any town in Connaught. It has shared with almost all the other ports in that traffic of expatriation which has, of late years, given to Ireland a sad pre-eminence over all other countries. In the year 1850 there sailed from Sligo 1832 emigrants, viz., 931 for the United States, and 901 for our possessions in Canada. I know not the subsequent amount of emigration.

The population of the town of Sligo was in 1841, according to the census returns, 12,272, but had fallen down to 10,889 in 1851. If, indeed, we were to include the inmates of the gaol, workhouse, and hospitals in the latter year, instead of a decrease we should have an increase of 1058, these establishments having, within themselves a population of 2431.

Education flourishes in Sligo as elsewhere. There are no less than four National Schools, though one of them was temporarily shut at the period of my visit. Three of these schools, in September, 1851, contained 252 boys and 660 girls. There are also three Protestant schools in connection with the Church Education Society; a male and female school in St. John's parish, and a female school in Calry parish. These in 1851 had 272 children on their rolls, with an average attendance

of 167. The local contributions towards the support of the schools amounted in the same year to 92*l.*

Sligo has likewise several schools, superintended by the Sisters of Mercy and other Nuns. In the Nunnery School belonging to the Order of Mercy, there were 250 grown-up girls and 140 children; and in that of the Ursuline, 200 children. The Sisters of Mercy have built a house of refuge, partly for education, but chiefly for the temporary maintenance, by their own work, of servants out of place: it contained, at the time of my visit, 40 inmates.

These excellent women have here, as in Westport, taken the Temperance movement under their direction, and have within the last year given the pledge to full 200 men. Like their Sisters in Westport, they give the pledge for a limited period of one or two years.

In Sligo as elsewhere Teetotalism had fallen from its high estate, and the fall here as elsewhere was attributed to the sad incidents of the years of pestilence and famine. Many men attributed their broken pledges to the recommendation of their medical friends, who considered spirits as a prophylactic against cholera and fever. One poor fellow, an ostler, told me that his doctor had been the ruin of him, by advising him to take two glasses of spirits, besides beer, daily. He had, however, after experiencing for a time the evils of the stimulating regimen, returned to his pledge, and had now kept it faithfully for eight years.

Father Mathew visited Sligo in the year 1840, and received the pledges of one half or even of two thirds of the Catholic population: and some thousands kept their pledges until the whole system was disorganised, as already said, by the visitations of famine, cholera, and fever. There was then a Temperance Hall and the other usual adjuncts of a zealous and active association. All these have disappeared, and I was told that before the Sisters of Mercy began their labours, there were probably not more than a hundred members remaining of the original stock.

I visited the Union Workhouse, which is prettily situated about a mile out of the town, and presents the same admirable neatness and order which characterises all this class of houses. It was first opened in December, 1841, and was planned for the accommodation of 1200 inmates. Further accommodation was afterwards provided for 800 more; and I see by the official Reports that in April, 1848, it contained at one time 1690 inmates. It can now receive within its walls 1600. At the time of my visit it contained in all only 753. Of these there were no less than 212 persons in the hospital, including 16 in the Fever Hospital. As this is a greater proportion of sick than has been observed in other houses of the kind, it is but fair to say that of the 196 inmates of the hospital, 58 were merely infirm from old age, making the actual number of sick in the two infirmaries 154. Among these no less than 50

were cases of ophthalmia.[1] Out of the 753 persons in the house there were in the schools no less than 226 children, viz. 99 boys and 127 girls; and the number of Protestants was about 80—by far the largest number yet found in any Union, and indicating our gradual progress towards the Presbyterian district.

The following statement gives, in round numbers, the greatest amount of paupers on the books at any one time during the last few years, and points out the progressive diminution of pauperism in the district:

In 1849 . . .	4100
In 1850 . . .	3200
In 1851 . . .	1400 to 1900.

The same results are shown on a still larger scale in the official Poor Law Reports:

	Number of Persons Relieved during the Year.	
Years.	In-door.	Out-door.
1849	13,379	17,351
1850	9309	412
1851	5962	9

I observed a peculiarity of the "stirabout" in this Union, 2 oz. of rice being here combined with 5 oz. of Indian meal in its composition. The resulting mess was very palatable. I also noticed that

[1] By a communication from the master, dated February 12, I learn that this number had decreased to 24.

the bread was composed entirely of flour, that is, from fine Egyptian wheat; and was very good.

At a short distance beyond the Union Workhouse I visited the new County Asylum for Lunatics. Though not yet completed, I could see from its interior plan that it embraces all the best modern arrangements hitherto suggested—among others, that of having a recess dining-room, bulging out, as it were, from the exercising gallery adjoining the cells. In this respect it has the advantage over the new asylum at Killarney. I cannot omit to notice the singularly-elegant elevation of this house, and the remarkable beauty of the whole structure. Indeed it is, to my taste, one of the finest public charities I ever saw, and seems no less creditable to the liberal spirit of the public body who authorised its erection, than to the fine taste of the architect, Mr. Deane Butler. It was to me another striking evidence of the great architectural genius of the Irish nation.

I visited several cottages in and near Sligo, and had a good deal of conversation with their occupants. Being Sunday morning, I found them all at home and at leisure. Upon the whole, the cottages were somewhat better than those observed further to the south and west, both as to neatness and amount of furniture. Many of them, however, were lamentably deficient in both these respects. Only in one or two, out of many, could I recognise even a slight approach towards what in civilised nations is called

comfort: in none could I find a single trace of those humble but charming efforts at embellishment and decoration, those simple and innocent luxuries, so surely indicative of mental progress, that delight the eye and touch the heart of the visitor of an English cottage. Alas, for the poor of Ireland, that gifted as they are, beyond most, with the quick imaginations and the warm affections which are best calculated to create and to enjoy what is graceful and what is tasteful, they should still be bound by their hard fortunes within the circle of mere physical wants! Truly, of them, if of any, it may be said—

> "Chill penury repressed their noble rage,
> And froze the genial current of the soul."

Among others, I went into a cottage belonging to a young labouring man and his wife, and which, with the exception of two chubby, half-clad infants, could boast no other wealth than a couple of chairs, a potato-pot, and a few dishes of coarse crockery. I here met with one of those strong-headed men, not seldom to be found in the very lowest rank of society, who at once arrest the attention and command the respect of every one, by the unconscious display of natural talent, good sense, and good feeling. He was a working mason, of about forty years of age, and seemed to have come into his neighbour's house for a little morning's gossip. It was early, and he had not yet begun to prepare himself for chapel.

Soon finding that my friend in the flannel jacket and lime-burnt hat was one of nature's gentlemen

as well as philosophers, I gradually got into an interesting discussion with him on the everlasting theme of Ireland—her evils and their remedies; the young labourer and his wife standing by, the while, now joining in as a sort of confirmatory chorus, and now serving my friend as living illustrations of his theme. I don't know that he told me aught that was new or worth reproducing in these pages; but his shrewdness, liberality, and impartiality, certainly tended to strengthen impressions already in my mind, and added to my respect for the Irish character in its humbler sphere. He was a strong Catholic, but without bigotry. He seemed to regard his Protestant neighbours without the least ill feeling; and the great question that so agitates the Catholics of the middle and upper classes and the Roman Catholic clergy—I mean the monstrous anomaly of the Church of the minority being the exclusive recipient of tithes—seemed hardly to affect him at all, because, in reality, it scarcely touched his class practically. He thought his own creed the true one, but he did not blame others for preferring that they had been brought up in. Being somewhat of a scholar, he now and then referred to passages in the Bible; and on my expressing my surprise at this, he told me that he had an English Bible, and that he had not only the sanction of the priest for keeping it, but for reading it. He offered to show it to me, if I would go with him to his house, which was hard by. His possession of this book was shown to be an ex-

ception to the general rule, by a circumstance mentioned by him, namely, that he had won a bet from a Protestant neighbour on the question whether the priest would allow him to retain it. The general practice was evidently against him; but probably he relied on his own strength of character and known soundness of belief.

He condemned *the Elections* as most injurious to the peace of the lower classes, stirring up ill blood between the Protestants and Catholics which never was moved at other times. He himself had no vote, and hoped he never would have one.

He spoke with kindness of the landlords as a body, but condemned some of them bitterly as oppressors of the poor, both in their minds and bodies, sometimes directly, but much more frequently through their agents. He had often known a poor man's cow or horse, or other goods, taken for rent at the very time of the year when they were most needed by their owner, and thus the poor tenant be broken down entirely; whereas, if the agent had waited for a short time, say till after harvest or after ploughing time, all the rent or the greater part of it would have been paid, and the poor man would still have held his place in the world. He pithily illustrated the relative power of landlord and tenant, in all their differences, by the remark, "A sally [sallow] landlord will break an oaken tenant."

He avowed himself to be strongly attached to the English government, as being in itself not only the

best form of government, and the Queen the best of queens, but as being far better for Ireland than Repeal and so-called independence. But he strongly insisted upon the fact that there was still something wrong between the two countries which ought to be made right; though he confessed that he did not know the precise root and essence of the evil. Practically, however, he said he knew it in many ways, and most of all and most painfully in the palpable fact that a large proportion of the working-men of Ireland, men able and willing to work, could either get no work at all or insufficient work, or getting sufficient work could not get adequate remuneration. A country properly governed and properly managed ought, he truly said, to exhibit no such fact as that; "nor ought a man like *him*," he said, (pointing to the stalwart labourer standing beside him,) "to be compelled to labour for 6*d.* or 8*d.* a day, with a wife and children to maintain, food and clothing to buy, and rent to pay."

And yet he was far from extravagant in his ideas as to the remuneration of labour, bounding his estimate at one shilling, or at most eighteen pence, for the daily allowance. Surely, in all this the good man was right; and surely, distresses so patiently borne and sought to be allayed by means so moderate, cannot much longer be the lot of this unfortunate people.

The moderation of tone and views of my hard-handed friend gave me no surprise, as I had noticed

it previously among many of his class. Indeed, the general feeling prevalent among even the most distressed poor in Ireland had always shown itself to me more in the form of sorrow than of anger. I met with little or nothing of that terrible bitterness of discontent which, in former years, used to characterise a considerable proportion of the lower classes in England, and which refused to be allayed by concessions addressed to their mere personal and individual wrongs. The poor men of Ireland, more practical in this than even their English brethren, seemed to me to indulge in no transcendental theories of politics, nor to look for aid from organic changes in the state of society or government. They looked only to their individual wants and wrongs, and sought redress for these in such a plain practical form as common reason and common sense could at once understand and sanction. Perhaps it was the very discipline of their long distress that had brought them into a state of mind that simulated, at least, if it was not that highest kind of practical philosophy which teaches us, in the words of our great poet, that—

> "To know
> That which before us lies in daily life
> Is the prime wisdom."

It is among the more instructed members of the middle class, and among the Catholic clergy, that the national wrongs in regard to the dominant Church are felt and expressed. If the labouring

classes ever take a part in such questions, it is at the suggestion of those above them, not from their own spontaneous feelings and convictions.

Since coming into the west of Ireland, where the greatest efforts in proselytising to the Protestant Church has been made, I think I have myself observed, and have been certainly informed by those who ought to know, that the zeal of the Roman Catholic Clergy in visiting and instructing their own flocks has been increased in proportion to the activity of their opponents. It is most certain that the priests are very zealous and industrious in their vocation; and if they are more so now than formerly or more so here than elsewhere, the result becomes very intelligible on the grounds of mere human rivalry and opposition.

It is the opinion of some observers, Protestant as well as Catholic, that the zeal of the Protestant ladies and Scripture readers may, by stirring up this rivalry and opposition, neutralise itself. The priests certainly complain of both these classes of persons for going about, as they say, to disturb the quiet of consciences and the peace of families; but it will be understood that such complaints are likely to be the louder, the more successful such missionaries are in their work of conversion. It cannot, however, be otherwise than most distressing and annoying to men so strong in their convictions of the superiority of their own creed and so zealous in the discharge of their duties, as the priests are, to find their old

province so determinately and systematically invaded by hostile bands on all sides, vowed, not merely to "disturb their ancient solitary reign," but to break it in sunder and destroy it altogether.

If, under such circumstances, we should find the equanimity of the old rulers somewhat disturbed, or should even see them, occasionally, moved to the point of wrathful and unseemly opposition, we need not surely be much surprised, nor feel that it requires any extraordinary amount of clemency to forgive them. This remark is made in reference to reports I have heard in England, respecting the conduct of the priests in some of the emergencies alluded to. I think it right, however, to state that I myself, while in Ireland, met with no instance of unseemly violence on the part of the priests in such cases, either in word or deed. In fact, they seemed to be all too deeply impressed with the strength of their own cause, and to have too strong a conviction of the eventual and, as it were, necessary failure of their opponents, to make any such demonstration of feeling probable. Most assuredly such feeling was never demonstrated in my presence.

In leaving Sligo for Enniskillen we proceeded directly eastward, and soon got upon high ground that enabled us to regain, and with added beauty, all the splendid landscape of the west, which we had lost in descending into the valley of Sligo. Two of the most conspicuous features of this landscape remained long within sight as we pursued our

eastward path, and often made us turn round to admire their striking singularity and beauty; I refer to the two lofty and isolated hills at the mouth of Sligo Harbour, the one on the south side already mentioned, Knocknara or Knocknaree; the other on the north side, the still more beautiful Benbulben, with its congenerous peaks of Benduff and Benwicken. The loftiest of these three peaks, that which gives name to the mountain, is about 1700 feet above the sea-level. In about two miles after leaving Sligo, we passed through the magnificent woods of Hazelwood, the seat of Mr. Wynne, and skirted his extensive farm, almost as magnificent in its way. We had seen no farm to be compared with this since we saw Lord Lansdowne's at Coollattin, either for the size of the fields, the excellence of the cultivation, or the goodness of the crops. It was a perfect Scotch farm; and we found another, almost as good, at no great distance from it, belonging, I think, to another proprietor.

On emerging from Mr. Wynne's woods and grounds, we found ourselves on the northern bank of the charming Lough Gill. This lake is principally in the county of Sligo, but partly also in that of Leitrim, and is about four miles in length and from half a mile to a mile and a half in breadth. With the exception of the lakes of Killarney, it presents decidedly the most beautiful piece of lake scenery we have yet seen in Ireland. It resembles Killarney in the wooded beauty of its shores and

islands, and in its general sweet and smiling aspect, but it wants much of the grandeur thrown around the former by the magnificent mountains that environ them. Not that the shores of Lough Gill are, by any means, tame; on the contrary, the steep and wooded hill that rises abruptly from its edge, and constitutes its southern boundary, rises to the height of 800 feet, and certainly contributes not a little to enhance the charm of the placid waters and the wood-crowned shores at its foot. The lake is said to cover an extent of 3600 acres, and to contain no less than twenty islands, most of them richly wooded. Two of the largest are inhabited, or at least are in a state of cultivation, and one contains some very ancient ruins, whence it derives its name of Church Island.

At the eastern extremity of Lough Gill we turned for a short time northward, until we reached the main road leading to Manor Hamilton and Enniskillen, when we once more turned our faces to the east. The country for some miles after leaving Lough Gill presented to us a more continuous tract of gentle beauty and quiet picturesqueness than we had before seen in Ireland. It consisted of a succession of small green low hills with bluff shoulders, constantly broken by naked cliffs of rock projecting from the green turf or blossoming heath, and separated from one another by a network of little fairy valleys, winding and twisting about in all directions. It had no trace

of the bog or the moor, and put one in mind of some of those small half-wild half-tame sheep-walks which are occasionally met with in the north of Devon. It was, to my taste, as pretty a bit of quiet landscape as could well be seen.

The whole country retained somewhat of the same aspect all the way to Manor Hamilton, but afterwards it resumed, here and there, a good deal of the old tame, flat, and boggy character, though, on the whole, much more cultivated and more peopled than the part of Sligo we had traversed the day before. We were now in the county of Leitrim.

In passing through the pretty parish of Drumlease, some distance beyond the east end of Lough Gill, we stopped at several cottages to examine their condition, and that of their inmates. Neither presented any remarkable difference from what we had already seen further south. I called also at a little farmhouse, which was in no way better than a cottar's cabin, except that it was somewhat more roomy and had a few sheds attached to it. The little farm consisted of thirteen acres, for which and the house only 6*l.* rent was paid. The farmer kept four cows and one horse, and he had a few pigs and a donkey. The horse was not employed in ploughing, as all the work of the farm was done by hand, the digging being performed by the farmer himself, with the aid of one or two men, hired for the occasion, and to whom he paid 10*d.* per day. The

poor-rate on the farm was 8*s.* in the half-year, and the county-cess 8*s.* 4*d.* for the whole year.

The man had occupied this little farm for five years, and had found it always hard work to pay his rent and keep his family. Previously to engaging on the farm, he had been a ploughman with a neighbouring gentleman for many years, receiving as wages one shilling a day, besides his food and a free house. His wife complained bitterly of her altered fortunes since her husband had changed his mode of life. Formerly, she said, she had not only all that was necessary for herself and children, but was able to indulge in many simple luxuries which she was now forced to forego. It was admitted that this man's allowances, while in service, were uncommonly large, in consequence of his being a favorite with his master, a man of extraordinary liberality to his labourers; but the goodwife declared that she and her family would be greatly better off if her husband were again in service, though with considerably smaller wages. I could not help considering the history of this humble household, as offering a good illustration of the comparative advantages of the cottar system and the consolidated farm system. The vote of the mother of the family (I did not see her husband) would obviously be in favour of service over so-called independence.

The poor woman was not in good health, and in giving her some counsel respecting it, I had occasion to question her as to her age. She told

me at once, but with a blush indicative of something wrong, which she explained by stating that, having married a husband much younger than herself, she had usually passed for a good-deal-younger woman than she was. I record this trifling fact as another instance of the singular candour which I have already mentioned as characteristic of the Irish peasantry, although it may be fairly objected that the want of candour in concealing her age may well balance the candour towards me. In one sense this is true; still the spontaneous confession of previous wrong must be admitted to be an act of candour.

When I entered the open door of this cabin, I found it tenanted by the good woman of the house, a female friend seated by her at the hearth, with a sickly-looking child on her knee, and a boy and a donkey. The boy, I found, was the son of the family, and the donkey was his, he having brought it up when deprived of its mother shortly after its birth. Although evidently familiar with its present locality, and under no sort of restraint before company, I was made to understand that this was really not the donkey's proper abode, he being only admitted an occasional visitor as the pet of the family-pet. The boy was a fine smart lad, very decently clad, and was an attendant at the National School of the parish, where he paid the usual weekly penny. He told me there were 40 boys now in the school. I see by the Commissioners' Reports, that

in September 1850 there were on the books of this school 59 boys and 60 girls; and in September 1851, 67 boys and 63 girls. The boy had to go some distance to the school, which was evidently much prised by the mother.

During my conversation with the mistress of the house, I observed that her female companion took from her pocket a piece of paper, and looked wistfully yet doubtfully over its contents, as if not quite certain of their import. I immediately guessed what the matter was, and asked if she had got a letter from America? She said it was a letter from her husband, which she could not very well read. She handed it to me, and I read it to her. Her husband had only left Ireland in the beginning of the year, having been *sent for* (that is, having had his passage paid,) by his younger brother, a young man of twenty-five, who had emigrated three years before, and was now in the receipt of 120 dollars annual wages. The writer informed his wife that, by the blessing of God, he had got into good work, and would soon, he hoped, through the same blessing, be enabled to send her home money enough to bring her and the children out to him. He enclosed an order for 3*l.*, which would enable her to live in the meanwhile. Like most letters of the poor, this was short, and obviously the production of no great clerk. It was, however, much to the point; telling everything that was essential, and bearing the unquestionable impress of true affection.

"One touch of nature makes the whole world kin;"—and surely it was impossible not to sympathise with this poor woman, nursing her sick child on the floor of that humble cabin, and shedding tears over the crumpled piece of paper that reminded her, at once, of the far-absence and the unabated affection of her husband; and awakened, no doubt, a thousand memories of the past and a thousand hopes of the future. What was it to this gentle wife, or to her warm-hearted husband, under what form of government they lived, provided they had the means of living, and could hold in peace and security one sacred spot whereon to build up the fabric of the affections in a home they might call their own? So true is it, that to the children of labour, at least, the first and dearest necessity is still the very same as that which was the first necessity of the savage when struggling into civilisation—a home and the means of living.

Hence it is surely the first duty of a government, to see that all classes of the community have these means, or may have them, at least, under due submission to the conditions imposed on the members of social and civilised life. It is only when so circumstanced, that men in the lower ranks of society are in a fit condition to think wisely or to think at all or to judge calmly of their remoter relations with political governments or ecclesiastical arrangements. In our intellectual as in our social condition, we must possess the necessaries before we aspire to

the luxuries of life. In the present state of Ireland, therefore, as well as of England also, it is most wise to regard the amelioration of the social condition of the labouring classes as the necessary preliminary step to, or at least as an essential ingredient in any extension of their political powers. Such an extension is their undoubted right, and they must obtain it in due time; but they have still more imperative claims to still more important rights—namely, to be placed in a position to obtain "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work;" to obtain a sufficiency for house-room, food, and clothing for themselves and families, and education for their children. Until the state has discovered the means of satisfying these claims—and our recent legislation respecting "unrestricted competition" has gone a great way towards satisfying them—political rights and political powers are to the poor but as "sounding brass or tinkling cymbals;" they may play round the head, but come not to the heart.

We stopped for a very short time at Manor Hamilton, a small town about twelve miles from Sligo. It is situated in a beautiful neighbourhood, with a fine range of hills for a back ground. Like most of the places visited by us, its population has considerably decreased of late years. In 1841 it contained 1507 persons, and in 1851 only 1127, that is, exclusive of its workhouse, which, at the time of the last census, contained 552 inmates.

I had not time to visit the public institutions of

the place, but I learnt from my constant informants, the police constables, that the schools were flourishing and well attended. On referring to the official documents respecting them, I find that the following was their condition, as to numbers, by the last returns: National School—in September, 1850, boys, 95; girls, 110; in September, 1851, boys, 93; girls, 89. Workhouse Schools—in 1850, boys, 89; girls, 185; in 1851, boys, 71; girls, 116. Church Education Society's Schools—in 1851, boys and girls, 96; with an average attendance of 51.

According to the testimony of the same authorities, there were only about 20 teetotallers in Manor Hamilton, and three of these belonged to the constabulary force of 15, stationed in the place.

The country beyond Manor Hamilton generally presented the more common characteristics of Irish lowlands,—half cultivation and half bog; though there were many litttle spots not devoid of beauty.

CHAPTER III.

CATHOLIC IRELAND.

Having crossed the narrow breadth of the county of Leitrim, we entered into the county of Fermanagh, and into the Province of Ulster, through the small neck of land that separates the upper and lower Lough Macnean, or Lough Cane and Lough Nitty, as they are also called. Of the former we could only see a small portion, but our road took us some distance along the northern shore of the latter. The views here are fine, both of the shores and the lake, though not equal, in point of beauty, to those of Lough Gill. The upper lake is about four miles long and two miles broad, and the lower has about one half of these dimensions. The isthmus between the two is about half a mile wide. The two lakes communicate by a small river, and they both discharge their superfluous waters through the river Arney into Upper Lough Earne.

From the shores of Lough Macnean onwards the country presents nothing remarkable until we come within four or five miles of Enniskillen, when it assumes more the appearance of England than any place we had seen since leaving the county of

Wicklow. Indeed, it was more like England than any part of Wicklow, having in abundance all the elements of beauty which are so profusely scattered over England,—wood, water, diversified surface, and rich cultivation. If it were transported to Kent or Surrey, this little district would hardly seem alien to the land.

Before advancing further into Ulster, and so leaving behind us the provinces which are much more entitled to the name of Catholic than Ulster is to the name of Protestant, it seems expedient to place on record the results that have presented themselves to my observation and inquiries respecting the character and the ecclesiastical and social position and relations of the Roman Catholic clergy; and also respecting some of the practices in their Church which bear most strongly on the condition, habits, and resources of the great body of the people. In making this brief survey, I shall concentrate all my memorandums relating to the subject, whether made before or subsequently to my visit to Enniskillen; and I shall, as usual, make no attempt to present my materials in any other than the fragmentary and imperfect form in which they originally came to me. My book professes to do no more than to report what the writer himself did, saw, and heard. For anything like a complete view of any of the more important aspects of Ireland and her people, the reader must seek other authorities. I will also

here repeat what I have already stated in a former chapter, that in recording matters relating to religion or its ministers, I profess myself to be purely an historian of facts, not a commentator or critic, except in so far as such facts have an obvious bearing on the social, political, or moral condition of the people. I profess, for the time, to ignore all special religious doctrines, as to their abstract rightness or wrongness.

And, first, as to the number, social position, revenues, and character of the clergy.

Roman Catholic Ireland is divided into four Ecclesiastical Provinces, which correspond with the Civil divisions, viz., Ulster, Leinster, Munster, Connaught. There are four Archbishops, one to each province, designated respectively—of Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, Tuam. There is also a Dean and Vicar-General to each province. There are twenty-four dioceses, each having its Bishop. According to the Irish Catholic Registry of the present year there are in Ireland 1013 parish priests, and 1307 curates or coadjutors, besides 65 others not specially placed, making a total of 2385 of working clergy, exclusive of the Dignitaries and the Regulars.

The emoluments of the Archbishops and Bishops are derived from the ordinary revenues of one or more parishes of which they are rectors; from fees for marriage licenses and other official acts; and from the individual contributions of the clergy of their respective dioceses. These contributions are, for

the most part, confined to parish priests, who usually contribute two guineas annually; in some dioceses the curates also contribute. The average amount of a Bishop's income may be stated at about 500*l.* per annum. This was the average given in by the Bishops examined before the Committee of the House of Commons in 1825, and it is presumed that there has been no material alteration since.

There are two classes of working priests in Ireland—parish priests and curates, or coadjutors as they are more usually called, corresponding to our beneficed clergymen and their curates. The Roman Catholic parishes being frequently very large, there are not seldom two curates, or even three, in one parish.

The priests derive their incomes entirely from their parishioners, who contribute the amount in various modes and forms. The following are the principal sources available for this purpose, and their ordinary amount in country parishes:

1. Easter and Christmas Offerings, varying from 1*s.* to 2s. 6*d.*, 5*s.*, 7*s.*, and 10*s.*, according to the means of the parties. None but the heads of families pay; and the poor generally content themselves with paying at one of the seasons only, generally Christmas, and usually contribute only 1*s.* The amount of income from these voluntary offerings is supposed to be at least one half of the priest's whole revenue. The remaining revenue is derived from the perform-

ance of the various ceremonies of the Church. Of these by far the most lucrative are marriages and funerals.

2. Marriage.—The ordinary fee for marriage, even for the poor, is a guinea, sometimes 30*s.*, and it is generally rigidly exacted. In very poor parishes, a less sum is, however, often taken, as 10*s.*, and even 5*s.*; but the higher charge is the more general. Sometimes when the priest has insisted on the larger sum, say 30*s.*, he will return a third or fourth part of it, in the shape of a present, when he pays a visit to the newly-married couple. But this is not reckoned on. Besides the regular fee, it is customary to make a collection for the priest at the house where the ceremony is performed, all the guests, often numerous, contributing more or less, according to their means, from 1*s.* to 5*s.* or 10*s.* By this means, 5*l.*, 10*l.*, 20*l.*, are sometimes collected; and the sum has been even known to reach 40*l.*: and all this not merely at the weddings of the rich, but even at those of common farmers. It is to be remarked that, in Ireland, the ceremony of marriage is almost always performed in private houses, and by licence; banns being very rarely published in the chapel.

3. Funerals.—Properly speaking there is no fee for funerals; but as every person, however poor, demands the presence of the priest, to say prayers in the house before the corpse is removed to the churchyard, a fee is exacted for this service. Very frequently, more than one priest is invited; some-

times four, five, or even six, according to the devotion of the survivors, and the capacity to pay the fee, which is always 10*s.* to each clergyman in attendance at the funeral, and double this sum to the priest of the parish. The same priests that attend in the house of mourning to say the prayers, usually follow the corpse to the grave, where prayers are again said; but this is not always the case. Very poor persons, having only one priest, pay him 10*s.*, or 15*s.* if he is the priest of the parish.

4. For Baptism, the usual fee varies from 1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.*; and this fee is understood to include that for Churching the mother.

5. Prayers for the Dead are constantly said in the chapels, and are repeated annually, often for many years, even for the poor. The usual fee for this service among the poorer classes is 1*s.*; among those above the poorer class it may be 1*s.* 6*d.*, 2*s.* 6*d.*, or 3*s.*; and may be more, and is usually more, when the deceased belongs to the richer classes. These payments are for special services. Prayers for the dead on Sunday, in the ordinary offices of the Church, are not paid for.

6. Confession.—No fee is ever paid for this in chapels, nor, indeed, elsewhere; but when what are called "stations" for receiving confessions are held in private houses, in remote places of the parish, then the head of every family attending them is expected to make a compliment to the house in the form of a small fee to the priest. This fee is usually 1*s.*

I have heard of some curious differences of opinion as to the point of view in which the fixing of these "Stations" at particular houses is regarded. A Protestant gentleman of Ireland stated before one of the Parliamentary committees, that the priests often appointed "Stations" at particular houses, as a means of punishment for some offence given by the master; the expense of a Station, as involving a public breakfast, &c. being always considerable to the householder. On the other hand, I was told by Catholics, that the allocating of a Station was generally desiderated, not merely as implying honour to the entertainer, but as conferring actual benefit, in the form of "good luck" to the house.

7. Pew-Rents, or Seat-Rents, in the galleries of the chapels, produce something for the incumbent, but not much. The rents are very low, and the seats not generally numerous; the great body of the church being open and free to all.

8. The Visitation of the Sick, which includes almost always the administration of the last Sacrament, is also one of the ordinary sources of revenue. The fee for this, among the poor, is only 1*s.*: I am told that in some dioceses no fees are now taken.

It is to be remarked that the Catholic visitation of the sick, with its formal administrations, is very different from that of the Protestant Church. In the former the first visit is often the only one, even though the sick person should live a considerable time thereafter. What is done at that visit is un-

derstood to have an abiding efficacy, and therefore needing no repetition. The opinion of the common people is that so long as the sick person keeps in bed, there can be no fresh commission of sin, and, consequently, no need for absolution; but that if the party remains out of bed for some days, the presence of the priest is again necessary to prepare him for his end; and for this he receives the usual fee.

9. Occasionally, also, as we have seen at Limerick, the priests derive a part of their emoluments from voluntary contributions at the chapel-doors; but this, I believe, is unusual. Collections at the chapel-doors are, however, common for other purposes: as for the repairs of the chapel; for poor parishioners who may have met with some special misfortune, &c. On these occasions, the ordinary contributions in country parishes do not exceed one halfpenny or a penny.

10. Presents.—A real, though uncertain source of revenue, is the system of voluntary gifts made by the more wealthy parishioners to their pastor. These gifts may be in money, but are more commonly in the form of matters of domestic utility, such as corn for horses, young pigs, &c. &c. Much money is also saved to the priest by the assistance rendered in many of his wants, as in carrying his turf, corn, &c. &c.

The whole amount raised by these various means is usually considered as a common fund for the maintenance of the parish priest and his curates, be

they two or more. The division of the spoil varies in different places, but the more ordinary practice would seem to be for the priest either to receive one half or two thirds, and divide the remainder among the curates; or to take the whole, and grant a small salary of 20*l.* or 30*l.* to each curate, beside boarding and lodging him at the same time in his house, and finding keep for his horse. Sometimes the curates are boarded elsewhere, and their board paid by the priest.

The total amount of the respective salaries of the parish priests varies much in different places. Some few parish priests in large and rich parishes make as much as 400*l.* a year; but the great majority of them do not make the half of this sum: many make 150*l.*, and many not more than 100*l.* The curates' incomes may be stated generally as varying from 30*l.* to 50*l.* But, of course, all these sums are subject to great variation, depending on numerous contingencies.

According to his degree of popularity or unpopularity, or according to the wealth or poverty of his flock, the priest may have his income greatly increased or diminished. In some parishes, all contributions, personal gifts and all, go to the common parochial treasury, and are shared according to a fixed rule, whatever that may be. In other cases, the individuals, whether priests or curates, are allowed to hold all gifts presented to them as their own. In this manner, sometimes a popular coadjutor may ex-

ceed in income his less popular superior. Thus, I learnt that in a country parish, a coadjutor recently dead had actually left behind him, in the bank, between 300*l.* and 400*l.*, all saved during a residence in the parish of only four years, and all derived from the numerous and large presents made to him by the farmers and others of his parishioners.

Generally speaking, the style of living of the rural priests, whether parish priests or curates, is hardly what would be called in England genteel or even comfortable; partly in consequence of their scanty revenues, and partly, perhaps, on account of the comparatively isolated and lower social position they occupy. Unlike the clergy of England, whether Protestant or Catholic, the priests in Ireland are permitted to hold but rare social intercourse with the gentry in their own neighbourhoods—greatly, I should say, to the discredit of the gentry, and greatly to the loss of the community. Knowing this, and knowing, moreover, how much they suffer from the *res angusta*, I own I was surprised to find, in my limited intercourse with the priests of both degrees, how well they preserved the character of gentlemen, both in their manners and external appearance. I found them always well-dressed, very polite, and with the conversation of men who had been well-educated.

I heard but one report of the priests; and that was that their character and conduct were uniformly excellent and exemplary. In an earlier stage of my

journey I have made a similar statement, and I now repeat it as the result of all I saw and heard in Ireland. I do not believe that a more favorable report could be made, by an impartial observer, of the character and conduct of the Protestant clergy of England or Scotland; and no one, I believe, will think of denying their claim as a body to moral and social excellence. I never heard a charge of personal immorality brought against any priest—and I made particular inquiries on this subject; and it was generally acknowledged that they were indefatigable in the discharge of their official duties. In most parishes these duties are very severe, partly on account of the immense number of persons in every cure, and partly from the quality of the religious services required and the nature of the people. The lower class of Irish are remarkably timid when sick, and the attendance of the priest is expected on all such occasions, by night as well as by day.

It has been recently stated that such summonses are disregarded by the priests unless previously assured of payment for the religious offices they are called on to perform. I believe this charge, generally speaking, is most unjust: it is certain that if such delinquency came to the knowledge of the Bishop of the diocese, it would receive severe ecclesiastical censure.

That these good men, however, should all be beyond the limits of fault or failure, no one, of course, will expect; they have their failings and weaknesses, no doubt, as other men and other

priests, as they have the flesh and blood of other men and other priests. Thus, I learnt in one country parish that the priest, a good man in other respects, had a sad propensity to spend more money than he had to spend, and so got constantly into debt, to the great scandal of his parish. It is fair, however, to state that his embarrassments were said to originate not in personal extravagance, but in his desire to administer to the wants of his relations, who were at once numerous, poor, and exigent. I heard of another who was supposed to make his after-dinner brewage a little too strong. But who has not heard of similar and worse imputations cast on some ministers of the decentest Church in the world? Miss Martineau, in her letters from Ireland, makes a much graver charge of the last-mentioned kind, against the ministers of the Established Church in Ireland: but, judging from all I have heard, I should say that anything like a general charge of this kind against either class of clergy, is most unjust.

I am strongly borne out in what I have stated respecting the Roman Catholic Clergy, by the testimony of a Protestant friend, who has lived in Ireland the greater part of his life, and who, from having filled official situations in various parts of the country, has had the very best opportunities for judging in this matter. He says, in a letter written to me since my return from Ireland,—"Compared with the clergy of the Established Church, I should say that the priests are, generally

speaking, equally conscientious good men, and equally anxious for the welfare of their flocks. I do not think they are unnecessarily rigid in exacting their fees. I certainly have heard of their refusing to administer some of the Church services without receiving the proper fee, but this is a very rare occurrence. In fact, there is no occasion to resort to such extremes, for they have all good believing Catholics at their command, ready to pay what they choose to demand or the parishioners can afford. I have been told by priests themselves that they were sometimes obliged, on being called to administer the usual services in a well-to-do family, to make some member of it pay, or promise to pay, the Church arrears before they performed the required office."

The discipline of the priests in their own parishes is much more rigid, and their sovereignty much more acknowledged, than can well be imagined by the inhabitants of a Protestant country. And yet it is but justice to them to say that their interference seems to keep generally within the limits of what they regard as their pastoral province. They consider themselves as having a paramount authority in all matters of morality as well as religion, and they demean themselves accordingly. When all the lesser powers fail to reclaim, they do not hesitate to proceed to the extreme measure of excommunication, a result dreadful and most dreaded.

I am unable, from my own knowledge, to give any opinion as to the conduct of the priests in

influencing the opinions and actions of their parishioners in political matters. It seems certain that many have so interfered, and with much vehemence, of late years; but, from all I heard in Ireland, I am disposed to believe that the proportion of priests so interfering is vastly exaggerated in England. People seem to forget how very small a number of active persons, who frequent and speak at public meetings, may strongly arrest public attention at a distance, in these newspaper days. I should not be surprised if the Catholics of Ireland should sometimes set down the rampant denouncements of some half-dozen of our own fiery ecclesiastical speakers, on certain public occasions, as representing the calm and deliberate opinions of the English clergy. This I know, that, as a general rule, the great body of the Catholic clergy in Ireland, like the great body of our English clergy, believe and feel and act under a profound conviction of the sacredness of their great calling, and of the paramount nature of its claims on all their powers of thought and action. At the same time I readily admit, that if anything could excuse the clergy of any Church in appearing personally in political contests, the priests of Ireland must be allowed to have that excuse. The degraded and anomalous position in which they are placed, in relation to their brethren of the Established Church, is sufficient to rouse whatever remains of mere human feelings in their breasts, and such feelings,

as I ventured to say on a former occasion, can only then be expected to be subdued into peaceful inaction, when one of two alternatives has taken place in Ireland,—the abolition of the monstrous anomaly now presented by the two Churches, or the practical realisation of that perfect and unrepining endurance of wrong on the part of the sufferers, which, however deducible from the fountains of Christianity, has never yet been manifested by any great body of Christians, whether lay or clerical.

The grand and characteristic power with which the priests of the Roman Catholic Church are armed, and that which gives them their chief authority over the minds of their flocks, is the possession of the privilege, peculiar to their form of Christianity, of enforcing the practice of CONFESSION.

Whether the exercise of such a power is consistent with personal freedom of action and the dignity of human reason, may be a proper subject of inquiry with the moral philosopher: whether it constitutes any impediment to the complete development of constitutional liberty in a state, is a question which may fairly be regarded as coming within the consideration of a constitutional and paternal government; but with neither branch of the inquiry is it now my province to deal. I have only to regard the subject in an historical, or rather in a natural-historical point of view, as it exists, and as it influences the ordinary conduct, and what may be

termed the private social condition of the people. Much less, I am sure, will it be expected from me to give any opinion of it as a religious doctrine of the Christian Church. Right or wrong, true or false, I have only to deal with it as other matters of fact which press upon the traveller's attention.

Confession is universally regarded both by the priests and people of Ireland as one of the first, if not the first, of religious duties. It cannot be long foregone by any resident in a parish, without the loss of character and status by the foregoer. Very pious persons, and those whose time is at their own disposal, confess frequently—weekly or monthly; the labouring poor (whom I chiefly consider in these remarks) twice or thrice a year; women more frequently than men, as they are naturally more pious, and their time less valuable, and they are more at home.

It is considered so terrible a sin to have any reserve in confession, that it is commonly believed that everything regarded as wrong by the confessing party, is surely confided to the priest in the confessional. My own inquiries lead me to assent to the accuracy of this belief.

Absolution does not follow confession as a necessary result; more time is often required, in order to give stronger evidence of repentance by an amended life; and certain penances are enjoined, which must be performed: when the priest is satisfied that the repentance is sincere, then absolution is given.

The practice of regular confession is considered by those who follow it, as a powerful means for preserving them in a virtuous course of life. The conviction constantly present to them, that whatever wrong is done must be laid open to another, is felt, they tell us, to be constantly operative as a preventive of wrong-doing; while the happy consciousness of having been, as they believe, through confession, penitence, and absolution, re-established in the state of comparative innocence and purity, fortifies in a marvellous manner (so they say) the resolutions to follow what is good, and eschew what is bad.

I give these statements, as I have said, historically, and exactly as they were made to me by the parties concerned—the lower classes of the Irish Catholics. I cannot vouch for their truth; but I have no reason to doubt their accuracy; and, in fact, they seem to be strongly corroborated, if not confirmed, by much that we see in the actual conduct and habits of the people. At any rate, the result of all my inquiries is, that—whether right or wrong in a theological or rational point of view—this instrument of confession is, among the Irish of the humbler classes, a direct preservative against certain forms of immorality at least.

That it is productive of no evil I am not prepared to say. Indeed, considering its potency, and the fact that its operations are directed by mere weak mortal men, it would be contrary to all the analogies

of human affairs, if it were *not* occasionally productive of evil. It is, however, but simple justice in me to say that, when in Ireland, I heard of none that could be fairly attributed to it.

In England, of course, we all have heard—and, no doubt, many who have heard have believed—that the confessional has, through its purgatorial and exonerating agency, given facility, if not encouragement, to the perpetration of those dreadful public or political murders which have, of late years, so stained the annals of Ireland. But this is a belief which no candid or instructed mind will entertain, and a charge which no man of sober reflection will prefer: it, indeed, stands self-confuted by its very enormity, and by the religious and moral lives —to say nothing of the Christian principles—of the men against whom it is preferred.

Another charge often preferred against Confession, in Ireland and elsewhere, is the facility it affords for corrupting the female mind, and of its actually leading to such corruption. The facility, I presume, may be admitted; nor need the fact be denied, that it has been sometimes taken advantage of: but to say that this is a common case, or even a rare case, among the priests of Ireland, is, I believe, one of the most unjust charges ever made against any body of men. So far from such corruption resulting from the confessional, it is the general belief in Ireland—a belief expressed to me by many trustworthy men in all

parts of the country, and by Protestants as well as Catholics—that the singular purity of female life among the lower classes there, is, in a considerable degree, dependent on this very circumstance. No general statements, however strong, unless supported by evidence of the most positive kind, can be admitted against the testimony of facts like these: and if the confessional is to be condemned—and I am far from saying that it is not—its condemnation must rest on something else than its influence in leading to vice and immorality among the Catholics of Ireland.

The only other thing in the practice of the Irish Catholics that occurs to me as coming within my province to notice is the matter of *Holidays*. Formerly, when these holidays were more numerous and more rigidly enforced than they now are, they were a very serious hindrance to the necessary exertions of the labouring classes in gaining their daily bread. In recent times the Pope has, I believe, authorised their reduction in most Catholic countries. I know that in the Spanish colonies—and I should suppose the case to be the same in Spain—they have been reduced to thirteen; thus making, with fifty-two Sundays, a total of sixty-five holidays, and leaving 300 working-days in the year. In France, I believe, they have been reduced to four. In Ireland they have been reduced to the eight following: January 1, The Circumcision; January 6,

The Epiphany; March 17, The Feast of St. Patrick; March 25, The Annunciation; June 29, The Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul; August 15, The Assumption; November 1, All Saints' Day; December 25, Christmas Day. These days are, I believe, strictly kept; that is, as far as regards going to mass and abstaining from work; but in other respects they are not simply a source of positive loss to the industrious, but the incentive to dissipation and idleness, present and future. One of the bishops, when examined before the Parliamentary Committee, in reply to the question, Whether the number of holidays could be reduced, in the event of factory-labour becoming prevalent in Ireland? said they could with the sanction of the Pope, and he seemed to foresee no great difficulty in the matter. The present time, when it is to be hoped that Ireland is entering on a new epoch, would seem favorable for an attempt to get them so reduced.

I cannot conclude these notices without remarking on the fact, that the support of their clergy, thrown on the respective congregations by the actual position of their Church, is a most serious inconvenience to the great body of the population of so poor a country as Ireland. From the statements made in the preceding pages, there can, I think, exist no doubt in any man's mind, that the amount of some of the fees and of certain contributions conventionally fixed at certain sums, are altogether dis-

proportioned to the means of the great majority of the persons who pay them. Some of them seem no less disproportioned to the amount of the services rendered for them. I would particularly instance the fee for marriage as quite exorbitant in the case of a poor labouring-man—amounting in many cases to the sum total of his earnings for six or eight weeks! Poor and ill-paid as they are, I cannot here acquit the priests of blame in demanding and accepting such fees from the poor. Of the minor fees I say nothing; but surely, even under present circumstances, those higher ones might be modified, and the loss be made up, in some degree at least, by an increase in the amount of Easter and Christmas offerings and other presents, made by the richer members of the community. It is the acceptance—not to say the exaction—of these numerous and large fees from the poor, that gives occasion to the very unfavorable contrast in this respect that exists between the Catholic clergy of Ireland and their brethren in England and Scotland, who may be almost said to take *no fees* from their flocks. In the actual state of Ireland, however, it is difficult to see how the priests could be supported without such contributions. The ordinary resource of pew-rents, by means of which the Presbyterian clergy in Ireland and most of the Dissenting clergy in Great Britain —including the Catholics—are mainly supported, cannot be made available for the Catholic clergy, because of the very insignificant number of seats in

their chapels, and of the still more insignificant number of persons who could afford to pay for them if they existed.

It is to be hoped, however, that the time is not far distant when the act of a liberal and paternal government, equally regardful of the religious sentiments of all its people, shall, by a due state-provision, put an end to the distressing position in which both the Catholic clergy and the poorer laity of Ireland are at present placed, through the unnatural and most unjust privations to which their Church has been so long subjected.

CHAPTER IV.

ENNISKILLEN.

Enniskillen, the capital of Fermanagh, is one of the neatest towns in Ireland, and planted in a beautiful site between the two Loughs Erne. These two lakes are about four or five miles apart, but are united by a splendid river, flowing from the upper or southern lake into the lower or northern. At about two thirds of the distance from the upper lake this river divides into two branches, which, after a circular bend on either hand, reunite and then proceed in a single current into the lower lake. On the island thus formed is built the principal part of the town of Enniskillen, though it is extended on both sides across its bounding rivers by means of bridges. The island is considerably elevated at one point, and is everywhere sufficiently high to preserve a good slope towards the water on all sides.

As seen from any of its approaches, Enniskillen has a very fine appearance, and from its higher parts it commands most delightful views in every direction. The whole valley between the lakes is bounded on either side by hills of considerable height, rising up steeply or sloping up gently from

the water, and everywhere adorned with the richest verdure and most luxuriant woods. It would, indeed, not be easy to point out a more charming locality than the immediate vicinity of Enniskillen, even without taking into account its magnificent lakes. The town itself is neat enough, but without any pretensions to architectural beauty either in its domestic or its public buildings. It is traversed from end to end by one main street which is of a fair width, and contains many good shops and two good hotels. The population of Enniskillen in 1841 was 5686; and in 1851, 5792. In addition to its own population it had, in 1851, in its workhouse, gaol, and infirmary, 1075 persons.

Being now in the province of Ulster, we begin to find a great alteration in the proportions of the two religions among the people, the Protestant element here assuming a much more important value. I was given to understand that in the town of Enniskillen the numbers of Catholics and Protestants are now nearly equal, the former comprising all the lower classes, the latter the middle and upper classes mainly.

This statement seems to be well borne out by the official returns of 1834, which distribute the population of the two parishes (Enniskillen and Rossory) in which the town is situated as follows: Protestants, 9052; Roman Catholics, 9208. It seems also in accordance with the official returns

of the whole county of Fermanagh, as given in the census of 1841. The number of the ministers of the different religious bodies are there given as follows :—Established Church, 29; Presbyterians and Methodists, 23; Roman Catholics, 23. This enumeration makes the number of Protestant ministers, taken conjointly, as being double that of the Roman Catholic. But if we admit, on the other hand, that each of the Catholic congregations is double that of the Protestant congregations (a moderate estimate in my opinion), we shall arrive at a conclusion in conformity with the statement made above as to the proportion of the two religious bodies in the town of Enniskillen.

There are numerous schools, and of all kinds, in the town: two National Schools; one if not two Catholic Schools; three schools connected with the Church of England, and three connected with the Presbyterians and Methodists, besides the great Endowed Grammar School of Portosa.

I was only able to visit one of the National Schools, the smaller of the two. Here I found in the boys' department only 37 on the books, with an average attendance of 26. The master told me that the attendance in winter was considerably larger, averaging 37 or 38. Out of the 37 now on the books, 12 are Protestants, of which number 9 attended school the day of my visit. This school, although in connection with the National Board, is not a pure National School, as the master receives

pupils of a higher class, who pay him fees averaging from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 7*s.* 6*d.* per quarter.

As in the ordinary National Schools, the religious instruction (simply the Catechism) is given on Saturday from half-past eleven to one o'clock, the Catholics occupying one room and the Protestants another. The master is a Catholic; but so far from seeking to convert his Protestant pupils, he adopts a rule of singular impartiality towards the two religions. Feeling it to be inconsistent with his own religious views to teach the Protestant Catechism, he delegates this task to a senior Protestant pupil; and in order that the Protestants may have no grounds for complaining of partiality even in this, he also delegates the instruction of the boys of his own religion to a pupil.

In the girls' school, the numbers on the books and in attendance were almost precisely the same as in the boys' school, but there were only 3 of the girls Protestants. Much of the time of the girls is employed in that kind of needlework (here termed "sprigging") which has been already noticed as so predominant in the schools of Connaught. Though highly important in various points of view, as formerly stated, this work may be and probably is carried too far in some schools. At least, I received complaints from more than one of the schoolmasters that it seriously interfered with the literary instruction of the children. And this is likely enough. Spriggery, or any other kind of female handiwork,

is, no doubt, very proper for girls to learn, but it ought not to supersede intellectual culture, which is still more important.

In the Commissioners' Reports I find this school recorded as having, in the September quarter of 1850, 65 boys and 64 girls; and in the same period of 1851, 53 boys and 40 girls on the books. The same Reports give, at corresponding periods, the returns of the other National School as follows:—1850—boys, 137; girls, 115; 1851—boys, 138; girls, 74.

There are three Protestant Schools belonging to the Church Education Society, viz., a boys' and girls' school, called the Fortshill Schools, and an Infant School. According to the Society's last Report, these schools in 1851 had the following numbers:

	On the Books.	Average Attendance.
Boys	87	58
Girls	71	40
Infants	82	51

At the time of my visit, the average attendance at the boys' school was 56, of which number 3 only were Catholics. The number of Catholics attending these Protestant schools has been greatly reduced since the present priest came into office. In the time of his predecessor there had been as many as 20, and at one time even 27 Catholic children in the school. The priest now puts a veto on their

attendance. All the Catholic children that do attend must read the Bible with the others, but, I believe, they are not catechised. At this school the children of parents who have money, pay from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 6*d.* a quarter; others pay one penny per week; but there are a good many who pay nothing at all.

In the girls' school there were 42 on the books, with an average attendance of 33. Here also there were 3 Catholics. This is an industrial as well as a literary school; literary work being attended to from ten to one, and sewing, &c., from one to three. Ten of the girls have a free attendance, the others pay one penny per week. Both these schools seemed well conducted, and the pupils, especially the girls, were very respectably clothed, and well advanced in their studies.

One of the seven Royal Endowed Schools of Ireland is in the immediate neighbourhood of Enniskillen, and is named Portosa School. The present principal, the Rev. Dr. Graham, was kind enough to afford me all the information I required respecting the establishment. These schools are of old foundation, and are chiefly maintained by rents derived from foundation lands. They are in some respects similar to our endowed classical schools in England, and are intended to educate the children of the upper or middle classes destined for the University or otherwise. According to a Parliamentary return of 1849, Portosa School had an annual in-

come from rents of 1877*l.* 10*s.* 4*d.*, and had 57 boys on its books. It and the other endowed schools of Armagh, Dungannon, and Cavan, have, to share by their pupils, no less than thirty exhibitions of from 25*l.* to 50*l.* each, both while at school and at Trinity College, Dublin; and they are all equally open to Catholics as to Protestants.

There are 20 boys from the town who have a claim to gratuitous education in this school; all others pay fees to the master, and attend either as day scholars, or reside as boarders in the master's house. The latter pay forty guineas a year. There are at present 70 pupils, 24 of whom are boarders. Formerly the attendance at this school seems to have been considerably greater, the number of pupils, in 1838, amounting to 176, viz. 96 boarders and 80 day scholars. It is said that the increased religious agitations of late years have affected the prosperity of these schools as well as all other prosperities in Ireland.

The Union Workhouse at Enniskillen is situated on an elevated and very healthy spot, on the right bank of the river, beyond the town. It is an excellently-arranged house, and clean and neat as usual. It was opened in December 1845, and is planned for the reception of 1000 inmates. At the time of my visit, there were only 446 persons in the house, the smallest number that it has ever contained. Out of this number there were only two healthy and able-bodied men, all the rest being

either superannuated, sickly, or children. I see by the Commissioners' Report that, on the 29th of April, 1848, it contained (with the additional accommodation then temporarily provided) 1171 persons. During the two last years, 1850 and 1851, the master said the average numbers in the house were respectively 822 and 574. Out of the present number in the house no fewer than 92 were in the hospital, and 20 in the fever-hospital. Of the persons now in the house, the master (who is a Protestant) reckoned that two fifths were Protestants, and three fifths Catholics.

On a former occasion I gave a statement of the amount of rates levied in the Killarney Union for the support of the poor, for a period of some years; and I here subjoin, for the sake of comparison, a statement of the rates in the Enniskillen Union for five years. For the sake of clearness, I have taken the average of the rates levied on the twenty electoral divisions of the union, as they vary considerably:

Rate.	Average Poundage.
	s. *d.*
1845, 7th July	0 7½
1846. 29th September . . .	0 10¼
1847, 7th September . . .	2 6
1848, 12th September . . .	3 0
1849, 2d October	2 9

Only one rate has been levied since 1849, viz. in 1851, and this averaged from 10*d.* to 1*s.* in the pound.

The dietary of this house is according to the

established regulations, but with some slight modification. The able-bodied adults receive no bread, but only stirabout for dinner and supper. This is made from equal parts of Indian meal and oatmeal, the allowance of the mixed meal being 8 or 9 oz. for breakfast, and 9 or 10 oz. for dinner: at both meals butter-milk is allowed. Besides the stirabout, children under fifteen, and the aged and infirm, are allowed bread—the former brown bread, the latter white bread; and children under nine get white wheaten bread instead of brown. Another modification in the dietary of this house, which I have nowhere before met with, is the allowance of *potatoes* on alternate days, during a certain period—that is, while the crop reared on the workhouse grounds lasts: $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. being allowed to each able-bodied person (and to the other classes in proportion) for dinner, in lieu of stirabout.

This total absence of potatoes in the workhouse dietaries of Ireland has always struck me as very singular. Has it been adopted with any view of weaning the people from the taste of that root which has been so fatal to their country, both by its prosperous condition and by its failure? Or has it originated in purely economic views? If so, what are these views?

The schools in this house were formerly in connection with the Board of National Education, but are now withdrawn. I found them in excellent order, the boys' school containing 100, and the

girls' 123. Both schools are industrial as well as literary; the boys of proper age working a part of the day on the farm, the girls at needle-work. All the girls above nine years are employed at work after two o'clock, the previous part of the day being occupied in the school. Two thirds of all the children are either orphans or have been left on the parish by the emigration or absence of their parents. All the children receive religious instruction, according to the form in which they had been previously trained; even orphans are brought up in the religion of their parents, if this is well known. Foundlings and others, the religion of whose parents may be doubtful, are educated as Protestants.

In the official report of these schools, published by the National Board, it appears that in September, 1850, there were in attendance 165 boys and 161 girls. The decreased numbers now on the books are obviously accounted for by the great decrease of the general amount of paupers. It will at the same time be remarked, that the proportional decrease of the children is much less than that of the adults, a circumstance easily to be explained by the orphaned condition of so large a proportion of them preventing their removal from the house.

It is most important to remember that the girls are not allowed to leave this or any other workhouse until they have attained the age of fifteen, unless they are removed by their parents or the guardians of their parish, or by some private house-

holder of known character, who undertakes to protect them as servants. In the year 1848 the guardians sent out to Australia 107 young women, between the ages of fifteen and twenty-two. The most favorable reports of these had been received. Many of them had sent home money to enable their relations to emigrate. Some striking and affecting instances were mentioned of this devotedness of the emigrants to the ties of kindred and old associations—as, for example, that of a young wife whose husband had become paralytic, and consequently unable to work, but who, nevertheless, succeeded not only in supporting him, but in saving sufficient money to enable some other of her relations to go out to them.

The result of my inquiries respecting the state of Temperance in Enniskillen was almost identical with what I had found in the great majority of the places I had already visited. At the period of Father Mathew's visit, and afterwards, there were many hundreds who took and kept the pledge in the town of Enniskillen, and full 2000 are believed to have flocked from the country to join the movement. It is said that there is a considerable proportion of these pledged men still remaining in the country villages. In the town it is believed that though there may be about 200 practical Teetotallers, there are hardly more than 20 who are actually pledged to abstinence. There was a Temperance Hall here

for several years; but it has ceased to exist for a considerable time. The chief causes of the breaking up of the Temperance organisation in this place, are said to have been the fear of cholera and fever, and religious dissention aggravated by an election. It would appear, however, that here, as in every other town visited by me, the habit of temperance has survived its organised source; the people being generally very abstinent in the use of all kinds of intoxicating drinks.

In my memorandums of things seen, I have not of late said aught of rags and beggars. The truth is that both have shown themselves to me in considerably less force since I left the county of Kerry, though they have been visible everywhere to a certain extent. I believe, also, that they have been still less conspicuous since leaving the county of Galway, and would appear to be progressively decreasing as we advance northwards. In Westport, Sligo, and Enniskillen, for instance, these indications of poverty have certainly been much less obtrusive; although some allowance must be made for our eyes getting more accustomed to them, and consequently attending to them less. In our journey from Sligo to this place we had very few appeals made to our generosity, and we certainly saw nothing comparable to the looped and windowed raggedness which had beset us in Wicklow, Carlow, Cork, and Kerry. The day being Sunday, we saw in several places the

country people going to and coming from chapel, all decently clad; and the young women, especially, handsomely bedight in their bright-coloured shawls, with well-arranged hair and well-cleaned shoes. No doubt, on this occasion, many a pretty foot was for the first time hid from view since the last visit to chapel.

The men were much less presentable, owing to that abominable habit, so long prevalent among the poor in Ireland, of wearing the cast-off clothes of others. It is, however, but just to my Leitrim friends to say that this costume was seen but comparatively seldom among them, compared with places further south and west; but still it was seen much too often. This habit, originating, no doubt, in poverty, has, I think, been carried much further than was absolutely necessary, merely because it had become a habit. I think it must be beginning to wear out, as I observe that a fair proportion of the boys and young men show themselves, at least on Sundays, in jackets and short coats, evidently originals. When such a change has become general, it will enable Old Ireland to put a much better face, at least, upon her poverty, if, indeed, the change itself may not be looked on as evidence of the diminution of that calamity.

Nothing could convey to a stranger a stronger impression of wretchedness and untidiness, than this vicarious costume of the Irish, disfiguring at once to the person of the wearers, and calling forth in the

mind of the observer the most disagreeable associations. Even when not in holes, as they too often are, those long-tailed coats almost touching the ground, and those shapeless breeches with their gaping knee-bands sagging below the calf of the leg, are the very emblems and ensigns of beggary and degradation.

I believe, moreover, that the use of such garments is a great mistake, and not by any means so inevitable a result of the want of means as is commonly supposed. Like all cheap bad things, they prove, in the end, much dearer than good new clothing, which will last three or four times as long as most of these refurbished but rotten commodities. A little management, with the aid of their more well-to-do neighbours to plan for them and to act for them, would soon bring the new clothing within easy reach of many who now think themselves only able to grasp the old. Once adopted, the improvement must be permanent, as the very first suit would be found to carry the wearer further on than the two old suits he had been accustomed to buy for about the same money. Then should we see Paddy "his own very self" at last, exposed in all his native strength of thew and sinew, and as smart without as within—no longer transmogrified into that vile travesty of a man, which has become the butt of the stage and the standing theme of caricaturists. Who would not like to look on Paddy in his new costume? Who would not like to look on Nora

while she looks on Paddy, and Paddy looks on himself,

"Miraturque novas frondes et non sua poma?"

On several occasions, in different places in Ireland, I made some inquiries respecting this old-clothes system. I was not surprised to find it constituting an active branch of both the local and the external commerce of the country, and the source of enormous profits to the traffickers. There seems to be a regular system followed by the vendors of old clothes in furbishing them up for the market. However greasy, or old, or threadbare, they continue to put a nap and a gloss upon them, so that, like Burns' Cottar's wife, they

"Gar auld claes look amaist as weel's the new;"

and then sell their rotten gear in complete suits, at the attractive prices of 35*s.*, 20*s.*, 10*s.*, or even of 5*s.* each. In the south of Ireland these old clothes come from Bristol or Liverpool; in the north they come from Edinburgh and Glasgow to Londonderry and Belfast. A retail dealer in these articles told me that his great wholesale correspondent in this line, who had establishments both in Dublin and Belfast, had realised a fortune of 60,000*l.* by this traffic, and had recently become the purchaser of one of the large Encumbered estates!

Similar inquiries among the shoemakers assured me that the use of shoes had been gradually increasing among the poorer classes. Nearly all the

young women, who usually go barefooted except on fair-days, holidays, and Sundays, have, for the most part, both boots and shoes; and in towns, in these northern parts, bare feet, even on ordinary occasions, are the exception, not the rule. An old shoemaker in Enniskillen of forty years' standing, assured me that there were now three times as many shoes worn as there were thirty years ago. This old man mentioned a circumstance in regard to shoes, which seems hard to account for, even if it were only partially true: he said that in the great year of distress, 1848, he and his brother-shoemakers continued to have plenty of work, while the tailors in the same place t-totally failed! Are shoes a greater necessary of life than clothes?

I have already remarked, more than once, how much Indian flour had become a part of the food of the people in Ireland. Finding it as much in use here as elsewhere, I had the curiosity to inquire of a large dealer in grain and flour of all kinds, as to the relative sale among the people of Enniskillen of the various kinds of meal. He informed me, in the first place, that since the period of the failure of the potato crop, he has sold from thirty to fifty times as much grain meal, of one kind or other, as previously to that period. He sells about four fifths of Indian meal for one fifth of oatmeal and flour respectively. He does not sell nearly so much barley meal as amounts to one half of either the

flour or oatmeal sold. Indian meal has the advantage of being cheaper, and of being supposed to be more nutritious than either flour or oatmeal. It sells at present at 1*s.* 1*d.* per stone, while oatmeal is 1*s.* 4*d.*

To conclude the notices of my gleanings in Enniskillen, I will here set down, by way of counterpart to my Sligo-labourer's views, the opinions of an Enniskillen-shopkeeper, on some of the sources of the miseries of Ireland, and on some of her worst grievances. Both Catholics, it will be seen how they differ—according to the point of elevation of the observer. The shopkeeper dwelt mainly on the following circumstances:

1. Inherent want of enterprise in Irishmen themselves, leading them to hoard money when they should use it in business.

2. Want of capital, or its too restricted employment by the possessors and occupiers of land.

3. Absenteeism, and the consequent substitution of agents for the natural lords of the people.

4. Too high rent of land and want of leases, and consequent ill-treatment of the tenantry in various ways.

5. Toryism and Orangeism and Protestantism of the magistrates, all existing in great disproportion to the amount of opposite views in religion and politics among the great majority of the people.

6. The monster grievance of the church: the payment of tithes to the clergy of a hostile creed;

the perpetual upholding before the eyes of the Catholic clergy and laity of the badges of the triumph of a foreign religion, while their own religion and its professors are condemned to degradation and poverty.

The two lakes of Enniskillen—the Upper and Lower Lough Erne—are justly ranked among the finest of Ireland. The Upper Lake is said to be eight miles and a half in extreme length, and three miles and three fourths in extreme breadth; and the Lower, twelve miles and a half by five and a half. They are both profusely interspersed with islands, the Upper being said to contain 90, and the Lower 109. Both are magnificent pieces of water, and most of their shores are extremely beautiful, rich with fine woods or green slopes or cultivated fields, and bounded in some places with hills of considerable height. But they want entirely the glorious mountains—those adjuncts which render Killarney so grand as well as beautiful, and which superadd sublimity to many of the Scottish lochs.

The numerous islands in both the lakes, for the most part richly wooded, give a romantic and poetical cast to the landscape; but in the Upper Lake their size and frequent closeness to one another, detract considerably from that essential charm of a lake, a free expanse of mirrored water. Mr. Otway has well expressed this defect in the following sentence: "The great fault of Upper

Lough Erne is, that it is too much encumbered with hilly islands, so as to give you rather the idea of a hilly country, with its lowlands flooded, than of a broad sweeping expanse of lake."

I took a boat at Enniskillen, early in the morning of a beautiful day, and was rowed up the Lower Lake as far as Ely Lodge, a seat of the Marquess of Ely—a distance of about six or seven miles. All this portion of the lake is exceedingly beautiful, the wooded islands adding greatly to the richness of the scene, without, in any way, destroying the fine effect of the wide-spreading water. The hilly shores are completely wooded on the southern side, and on the north are, for the most part, green or cultivated slopes of almost equal beauty.

I landed on Lord Ely's domain, which I believe is an island, though I could not discover its watery limit on the land side. It is, I understand, separated from the main land only by so small a line of water as can be spanned by a bridge. As this island is of considerable height, and the house (Ely Lodge) built on its summit, I expected to get a fine view of the upper portion of the lake from it; such expectation being, indeed, the chief motive of my visit to it. On reaching the house, however, I was completely disappointed; not a glimpse of the lake being visible from even its upper windows; so high had the wood been permitted to grow up around it, and not a vista left through which the eye could find its object.

This struck me as one of the most curious anomalies I had met with in Ireland: a house built purposely, no doubt, with the object of commanding one of the richest and most magnificent views, and that object totally defeated by what could only have been originally intended for a means of enhancing it. What could be the explanation of this anomaly? Was it an illustration of that confusion of ideas,—here leading to an exquisite practical bull —with which the natives of this country have been reproached? Was it a transcendent instance of that over-fondness for woods in these demesnes, which I have had occasion to notice on former occasions? Or was it—worst of all—an evidence of that curse of Ireland,—Absenteeism, which here, for once, in the natural, as often in the social world, permits beauties to grow into deformities, and fosters virtues into vices, solely because they are not witnessed by those who alone have the privilege and the power to prevent the transformation?

In my way I stopped at Devenish Island, not far from the head of the lake, in order to see its celebrated Round Tower and ruins. This tower is one of the most perfect in Ireland, its conical top, formerly shattered, having been completely restored by public subscription about sixteen or seventeen years since. It is 82 feet high and 49 feet in circumference. It is beautifully constructed, and apparently as strong as the day it was built. It has a

feature which I observed in none of the other Round Towers, and which, I believe, is peculiar to itself: this is the existence of four finely-sculptured heads and faces on an ornamental cornice immediately below the coping, each over a loophole or window. These heads look respectively to the four quarters of the heavens. Adjoining the tower are some extensive ruins of an ancient church and monastery, still retaining some fine specimens of ornamental architecture. The island on which these antiquities are placed is a simply rounded knoll, without wood, but exhibiting the richest pasture: its whole extent is said to be about eighty Irish acres. The Tower is built on the northern slope, a considerable way below its highest point, a sufficient proof, corroborated by many other similar instances, that these Towers were not originally intended for watch-towers or beacons.

A show-place in the immediate vicinity of Enniskillen is Castle Coole, the seat of Lord Belmore. The park, though not very large, is very fine, and not quite so much over-wooded as many others, though it also contains much wood, and some of it very fine. The house was built not very many years since, after the designs of Mr. Wyatt, and is a splendid structure in the pure Grecian style. It is said to have cost 200,000*l.*, and, like many other fine buildings, it probably swallowed up a good part of its owner's estate. At least, the Belmore property now extends very little beyond the park, the

remainder having lately been disposed of in the Encumbered Estates Court. There is a small lake in the demesne, containing numerous wild-fowl in a half-tame state.

On the highest summit of the island on which the town of Enniskillen is built, there is a very fine and lofty column, erected, some years since, in honour of General Sir Lowry Cole, one of the Peninsular soldiers, and a son of the noble house of Enniskillen. Owing to some difference between the Municipality and the Earl, the structure has never been completed, and now stands unsurmounted by the statue for the support of which it was erected. It, however, serves admirably to fulfil some of the collateral objects which, no doubt, had a share in its original design : it is a great ornament to the town ; it is a beautiful object for the traveller approaching it, from whatever quarter he may come ; and it affords from its summit a delightful view of the beautiful country around.

CHAPTER V.

LONDONDERRY—COLERAINE.

We left Enniskillen for Londonderry early in the morning, taking the public car as far as Newtown-Stewart, and there joining the railway. The fineness of the day and the reported want of interest in the country to be passed through, led us to prefer the public conveyance, and, as far as sight-seeing was concerned, we encountered little on our journey to make us regret having adopted the more expeditious mode of travelling. About six or seven miles from Enniskillen we entered the county of Tyrone. The district throughout presents the usual tame character of the Irish low country, but with somewhat more of continuous cultivation and less of bog. There is also here and there an attempt at fencing the fields with quick, and now and then a somewhat better show of trees about the farm-houses. We changed horses at Omagh, the capital of the county, a small town with about 3000 inhabitants,[1]

[1] The population of Omagh by the last census was 3016, being an increase of 69 since 1841. Comprising the inmates of the gaol and hospitals, the present population would be raised to 3385.

and presenting to us a tolerably neat and busy aspect as we passed. Like so many Irish towns, Omagh has a fine Grecian Court-house, which strikes the eye of the passing traveller. It is evidently of recent erection.

The railway from Newton-Stewart to Omagh was just completed, but not yet opened for traffic. As we proceeded to the former town, we tracked its course nearly the whole distance; both it and the road running, for the most part, along the banks of the beautiful valley of the Struel, a fine river, which takes its origin a little above Omagh, from the union of two smaller streams, the Camowen and the Fairy Water. After passing Strabane the railway runs for some distance through the border line of the county of Donegal before it enters the county of Derry. During a considerable part of this tract, it skirts the banks of the river Foyle, which, as we advance towards Londonderry, assumes the character of a magnificent stream through the aid of the tide from Lough Foyle.

Londonderry, or Derry, as it is always called in Ireland, is a large and handsome town, full of interest of every kind, from its buildings, its institutions, its antiquities, and its history. Its situation is singularly beautiful in itself, and commands the most delightful and varied views in all directions. The hill on which it stands is more than half surrounded by the river Foyle, and the splendid Lough

or arm of the sea of the same name, washes its base. The walls of the old city still preserve their perfect unity, and now serve as a circular walk amid the houses, which are nearly as numerous, though not quite so close, without it as within it.

Like many of the ancient walled cities in England, Londonderry is quartered by two main streets crossing each other in its centre, and each at its extremity piercing the city wall by a gate. The large open space left by the intersection of the streets, called the Diamond or Market Place, has been partly filled up by the Exchange or Corporation Hall, a large pile of building, but more massy than elegant. It contains the Common Council Room, a large Assembly Room, News Rooms, &c.

That arm of the cross which traverses the town from Bishop's-gate to Ship-quay Gate, constitutes two splendid streets, one on each side the Diamond, though the lower, Ship-quay Street, is so steep as hardly to be passable by carriages. In its upper portion, called Bishop's Street, it contains a handsome Court House, a very elegant structure in the Grecian style, but rather cramped by its position in the line of the street. Nearer Bishop's Gate are the Bishop's Palace and the Deanery, neither very noticeable, unless it be for the fine garden belonging to the former. In the same quarter is the Cathedral, built on the most elevated point of the hill of Derry. It is a neat plain Gothic structure exter-

nally, but has little of the character of a cathedral within, being without transepts, and having what dignity it could otherwise boast of destroyed by its homely but convenient pews and galleries. The most interesting object in the whole building is the monument to the great Diocesan of Derry, Dr. Knox, that noble pattern of a Bishop and of a Christian man.

In the steep street, below the Diamond, there are some public buildings of lesser note, two Banks, Gwyn's Charity, &c. In other parts of the city, both within and without the walls, there are numerous other public buildings, some of them in excellent taste, as the Gaol, the Lunatic Asylum, the Poor-house, the Custom-house, the Public Library and News-room, &c.

Next to the Cathedral, the most conspicuous public structure is the monument to George Walker, the famous clerical Governor and defender of the city during the celebrated siege by the army of King James. It consists of a fine column of Portland stone, 82 feet in height, including its base, surmounted by a statue of the same material, nine feet high. Walker is represented in the rather incongruous character of Divine and Soldier, which he bore in life, being dressed in canonicals, and armed at once with the Bible and the sword. This monument was erected so late as 1828 by public subscription. Its summit is accessible by a spiral staircase within, and is well worth as-

cending for the splendid view it commands of the city and its vicinity.

The population of Londonderry in 1841 was 15,196, and in 1851, 19,399, a much greater increase than we have met with in any of the towns hitherto visited, except Dublin and Cork. It is even greater than the increase of those cities in proportion to the number of inhabitants. If we were to include the inmates of the Workhouse, Gaol, Lunatic Asylum, and Infirmary (1080), we should raise the total population of Londonderry to 20,479; but this, as already remarked more than once, would not be a true population estimate.

As far as I could learn, there are only three Episcopalian Churches in Derry, including the Cathedral which serves as the parish church. There are, at least, double this number of churches and chapels belonging to other classes of Protestants. There is only one Roman Catholic chapel; but this, owing to its size and the numerous services always performed in it on Sundays, suffices for all the Catholic population, large as it is.

Londonderry is, perhaps, still more conspicuous for the number of its schools than even for its places of worship. Besides six National Schools within and without the walls, Foyle College (a classical school), Gwyn's and Erasmus Smith's Charity Schools, it can boast of schools specially connected with every religious sect, more especially with the Presbyterian body, which probably exceeds, in point

of number, all the other denominations of Protestants taken together. The very large number of schools established in and around Londonderry, is strikingly and agreeably exhibited by a document now before me, being a statement of the accounts of the Irish Society in the year 1851. From this it appears that this Society contributes annually to the maintenance of not fewer than sixty-five schools in Londonderry and its liberties. Among these are no less than thirteen National Schools, and hardly a less number of Presbyterian Schools. Under this last head I find, First Congregation—Male, Female, and Sunday Schools: Second Congregation—Sunday Schools: Third Congregation—Boys' and Girls' and Sunday Schools: Fourth Congregation—Sunday Schools: Reformed Presbyterian Schools; besides numerous other schools which probably belong either to Presbyterians or to some other Protestant Dissenters. Circumstances prevented me from paying my usual visits of inspection to the schools of Londonderry. I can therefore give no statistics of the number of children in attendance, or of their religion, from personal inquiry. I have since, however, ascertained that on the day of my visit to Londonderry the number of children belonging to the National School connected with the chief Presbyterian Church, was as follows:—Boys, 66; girls, 2; and they were thus distributed, according to their religion—45 Presbyterians, 21 Church of England, 2 Roman Catholics.

There is also about to be established a new College, destined chiefly for the education of Presbyterians, from a bequest of 20,000*l.* made for this purpose by the late Mrs. Magee; and for which the Irish Society has recently granted a fine site without the walls, amounting to twenty acres.

The same circumstance that interfered with my visits to the schools prevented my personal inspection of the workhouse. But I have since been favoured with an official statement from the master, of its statistical relations, not only at the period of my visit to Londonderry, but also for the two preceding years at the same date, and also at a still more recent period. The following is the statement:

Number and Condition of the Inmates in the Londonderry Workhouse.

	Total No. in House.	Number in Male School-room.	Number in Female School-room.	Number in Hospital.	Number in Fever Hospital.[1]	Number[2] of Cases of Ophthalmia.	Probable No. of Protestants.
Saturday, 31st August, 1850	458	81	65	58	46	3	96
Saturday, 30th August, 1851	466	62	81	49	48	2	98
Saturday, 28th August, 1852	383	59	64	45	13	—	81
Saturday, 19th February, 1853	599	70	86	58	46	2	126

I am the more pleased in being able to give these returns for a period of some extent, as they

[1] Dysentery, diarrhœa, variola, and measles, are treated in different wards in the Fever Hospital.

[2] The number of cases of ophthalmia for the year ending the 31st of December, 1852, was 26.

show, among other things, that the proportion of the professors of the two religions, as there given, is a steady and not an incidental one. These figures also confirm a statement often made to me, and noticed elsewhere, viz. that the lower class of the population are still essentially Catholic, even in Protestant Ulster.

As there is some deviation from the more ordinary dietary of the Unions in this house, I give in the following Table that portion of it having reference to the different classes of adults. It will be observed that here, for the first time, we see all the inmates participating in the allowance of a third daily meal, or supper.

Scale of Diet in the Londonderry Workhouse.

Class.	Breakfast, (at 9.)	Dinner, (at 1.)	Supper, (at 6.)
Working Men	7 oz. of meal $\frac{1}{3}$ qt. buttermilk	12 oz. coarse brd. 1 qt. veg. soup[1]	6 oz. meal[2] $\frac{1}{3}$ qt. buttermilk
Working Women	6 oz. meal $\frac{1}{3}$ qt. buttermilk	8 oz. coarse brd. 1 qt. veg. soup	4 oz. meal $\frac{1}{3}$ qt. buttermilk
Aged and Infirm.	6 oz. meal $\frac{1}{3}$ qt. buttermilk	8 oz. coarse brd. 1 qt. veg. soup	4 oz. meal $\frac{1}{3}$ qt. buttermilk

There is a farm attached to the workhouse, of about ten acres, for the purpose of training the school-boys to habits of industry in agricultural labour; and also to afford a supply of vegetables for the house—namely, turnips, carrots, parsnips, cab-

[1] The vegetable soup is composed of $\frac{3}{4}$ stone carrots, 1 stone turnips, $\frac{1}{4}$ stone onions, 5 lbs. cabbage, $\frac{1}{4}$ lb. pepper, with 10 lbs. oatmeal, for each 100 rations.

[2] The "meal" consists of half oatmeal and half Indian meal: it is made into stirabout with water and salt.

bages, onions, leeks, and parsley. Potatoes are also cultivated in the grounds, in sufficient quantity to supply the house for about seven weeks in the months of August and September.

I received some account of the Temperance movement in Derry, from one of its zealous advocates in the town. This began so long back as 1836. At one time the Society had full 2000 members, but now it cannot boast of more than 500. There is a Temperance Hall where the members have evening meetings occasionally. For the last six years there has been a Benevolent Society attached to the Temperance Institution, and comprising nearly all the members. The object of this Society is to afford relief in sickness and to pay the expense of funerals, at which all the members attend with crape on their left arm. The members, who are nearly all Catholics, pay threepence weekly.

Before leaving Londonderry, I went about six miles into the country to the north-west, to see an old rath or fort in the county of Donegal, on the banks of Lough Swilly; which is evidently, both in extent and beauty, one of the finest of Ireland's thousand inland friths or salt-water lakes. This rude fort or castle is situated on one of the hills overlooking the lough, and commands a splendid view of its many-branched arms and islands. It is one of a class numerous in the country, consisting simply of a vast accumulation of huge stones rudely

piled, in the form of a circular rampart, round the brow of the hill. It must have been a stronghold in its day; and a little labour to build up the breaches of time with its own fallen ruins, would make it so still.

The country between Londonderry and Lough Swilly is, for the most part, wild moorland, or with only partial slips of cultivation; there being nothing like complete or continuous cultivation except within two or three miles of the town.

I went into a small farmhouse at the foot of the fort-hill. The kitchen was full of smoke and dirt, and the cowhouse full of cows. It was a dairy farm; but presented few of the rural charms commonly seen about such homesteads in England. The mistress of the establishment was in the cowhouse, settling her charge for the night. Her language and her brogue were Scotch—almost as pure and perfect as they exist in the Lowlands of Scotland. I was so struck with this, that I asked if she was not herself really a Scotchwoman; but she assured me that her family had lived in the country for some generations.

I need hardly say, that the whole of Ulster retains more or less of this mark of the old Plantation-men of James I., which is the surest proof of the change of blood in this part of Ireland. But "the kindly Scotch tongue" sounds more startlingly familiar when heard on the banks of a mountain loch, amid peat and heather, and within the walls of a chimneyless and smoky cabin.

We left Londonderry for Coleraine in the stage-coach, being anxious to make our circuit of the coast of Antrim as quickly as possible, in order that we might be in time to attend the meeting of the British Association, then assembling in Belfast. Although the day was rainy, I considered myself fortunate in getting a seat on the outside, as I was reluctant to miss seeing any portion of the route. There was, however, not much worth seeing during this day's journey. The country from Derry to the halfway town of Newtown-Limavaddy is, for the most part, fertile and tolerably-well cultivated, with little of deteriorating bog. For a considerable way the road lies near the shores of Lough Foyle, (not very picturesque,) and commands a fine view of the range of the Innishowen mountains dividing Lough Foyle from Lough Swilly.

After passing Limavaddy, and leaving behind us the rich banks of its beautiful river Roe, we enter on a wild boggy and mountainous region, hardly to be surpassed in dreariness by any district in Ireland. This wild country continues till we come within a mile of Coleraine, and its beautiful river, the Bann.

Much of the country passed through has belonged to the great London companies since the Plantation of Ulster in the time of King James I.; and though several of the companies have since sold their lands, the greater number still retain their property or have only let it on lease for a time. As far as I could learn, these companies are the only

absentees who are popular in Ireland; and I am not sure that they are not more regarded by the tenantry than the majority of the resident landlords. Their conduct may be taken as evidence against the general applicability of a maxim already commented on in these pages—that public bodies have no heart. We shall have further proof, by and bye, of the possession of this sympathising organ by these London companies.

The county of Londonderry is almost as bare of wood as any of the districts hitherto visited. Although, no doubt, richer in this respect than it was fifty years since, when it was officially reported on in regard to its timber produce by Mr. Beresford, yet I fear it is still somewhat obnoxious to the charge with which he winds up his report, "that the county of Londonderry is perhaps the worst-wooded in the King's dominions."

Limavaddy, or as it is usually named, Newtown-Limavaddy, is a neat and thriving town. It is situated in the heart of the flax district, and carries on an active trade in this article. According to the last census it had, in 1851, a population of 3206, being an increase of 105 since 1841. This increase, small as it is, is a strong evidence of prosperity in an Irish town.

I learnt from one of the Presbyterian clergy of Limavaddy that the Temperance system was now in a very flourishing condition in that district, in consequence of an active movement made in its favour

during the last two years. The Presbyterian clergymen of six neighbouring parishes had themselves all become Teetotallers, and had induced their flocks, to the number of 2000, to enrol themselves as members of the Temperance society; showing—what I had already seen in several Catholic districts—that there is no agency so effective, in this respect, as the example of the pastors of the people to lead them in the right way.

Coleraine, like almost all the coast towns of Ireland, is situated on its own river—and a noble river the Bann is, viewed from the bridge on either side. But the town, though finely situated, is not fine; on the contrary, it has a very common-place look, though there are some streets of a good size and with good houses in them. The population in 1841 was 6255, and in 1851, 5920; showing a decrease of 335 during the ten years. Like Londonderry, Coleraine has its central square or diamond, with the Town Hall or Courthouse in the midst of it. It has also a very good market-house, of comparatively-recent erection. The public buildings are hardly worth notice. The best-looking is the Catholic chapel, on the left bank of the Bann, and the new National Model School, a little below the town on the same side of the river. This last is a very handsome building, creditable to Irish taste.

Coleraine is the most Protestant town we have yet visited. It probably retains nearly the same

proportions of the different religions as in 1834, when the two parishes in which it is contained (Coleraine and Killowen) gave the following results: English Church, 2167; Presbyterians and other Protestant Dissenters, 4996; Roman Catholics, 2100. This return makes the Catholic element considerably less than one third of the whole.

In its suburbs the town exhibits long rows or streets of thatched cottages; a feature which exists in almost every Irish town, and always conveys the impression of meanness. Here a portion of the houses in the cottaged streets are slated; but usually they are thatched. I visited some of the cottages, and found them still very untidy and ill-furnished, though somewhat better than similar tenements in the south and west. In one of these, an artisan's, the family were at dinner; and I was rather surprised to see the same rude habits as to eating, and the same humble fare, as in the poorer country districts. The meal consisted entirely of potatoes (placed on the naked table,) except a modicum of some small fish (salted) placed in a dish, to be eaten with the fingers as a relish. These houses have small gardens attached to them, and pay a rent of from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* a week.

Like Londonderry, Coleraine is very rich in schools, of all denominations. I paid a short visit to several. There are three National Schools; two having a boys' and girls' school each, and one (the Model School) containing in addition an infant

school: so that, in fact, there are seven National Schools. I was only able to visit the new Model School, and the school in Killowen Street, which last is frequented chiefly by the Catholics.

The Model School is a handsome new building, only opened in March, 1850. I found it in admirable order, the children all actively at work under masters and mistresses evidently well qualified and zealous. Besides the children, there were in the boys' school eight pupil teachers, and in the girls' school four, qualifying for taking charge of other schools. At the time of my visit there were in the boys' school, 82, with an average attendance of 65; only 15 of the number being Catholics. The master is a Presbyterian. In the girls' school there were 63 on the rolls, with an average attendance of 54; 17 out of the 63 were Catholics. The mistress is a Catholic. In the Infant School there were 62 on the books, with an average attendance of 54. Out of the 62 there were 15 Episcopalians and 10 Catholics, the rest being Presbyterians. The mistress is a Presbyterian.

In the proper school-hours, at certain times, the extracts from the Scriptures are read by all the pupils; but, on the day set apart for distinct religious instruction, the children of the different denominations are separated, in order to be catechised in their respective systems. The master assured me that there were found no difficulties in carrying out this arrangement.

I regard this school as a model school in every

sense of the word. The master and mistresses are of a superior stamp, and the children conspicuous alike for their excellent appearance, their emulative zeal, and their proficiency. I observe by the Official Report of 1850, that although these schools did not open till the 31st of March, they had in September the following numbers on their books:—boys, 77; girls, 76; infants, 45; while in the same month of the following year (1851) their numbers were as follows:—boys, 53; girls, 71, infants, 56.

The National School in Killowen Street had, at the time of my visit, on the books 56 boys, with an average attendance of 30; and 46 girls, with an average attendance of 37. There were no Protestants in the boys' school, and only four in the girls. Both the master and mistress are Catholics. The few Protestants are catechised by their own Minister in a separate apartment. The present low rate of attendance at the boys' school is accounted for partly by the demands of the harvest, but chiefly because there is only a substitute master, the proper master being absent. In the official reports of this school there were on the books in September, 1850, 53 boys and 67 girls; and in the same month in the following year, 76 boys and 91 girls.

The only other school I visited was one belonging to the Honorable the Irish Society. It has the largest and finest school-room I had seen in Ireland, and the educational arrangements seemed very excellent.

The history of this school is interesting. It was originally founded by the Irish Society so far back as the year 1705. After many vicissitudes, it was abandoned in 1739, and an infant school established. This also continued many years in an unsatisfactory state, when the Society finally erected the present school, which was first opened in 1821; its first master and mistress being sent from the London Borough School, on whose principles it was established.

In the Superintendent's report for the first year, a circumstance is mentioned, very touching in itself, and illustrating the sad condition of the poorer classes of Coleraine only thirty years since. I quote the master's words:—"In consequence of the wretchedness of the children, in point of habiliments, great numbers being unable to appear on Sabbath-days at any place of worship, the Superintendent hath established in the Society's Institution-room Sabbath-evening readings, connected with singing, to which not only the children of the inhabitants, but hundreds of others flock, in connection with their parents, many of whom are equally wretched in point of accommodation as to dress. Here they can appear with comparative comfort; a small portion of the room being lighted on one side for the use of the singers and the respectable part of the inhabitants, so that on the other side, which is comparatively *dark*, the poor creatures can have the advantage of hearing the

Word of God read, without any exposure of person or feeling."[1]

At the time of my visit the children, both boys and girls, had no occasion to hide themselves in the dark to avoid "exposure of person or feeling." They were all decently dressed and healthy-looking. On inquiry I found that there were rather more than 300 in attendance at the two schools. The number of boys on the books was about 200, and the average attendance was about 150; the whole number of Catholics not exceeding 20. Formerly the proportion of Catholics was considerably larger. At this school the Scriptures are read every morning. The children are recommended by a local committee of the clergymen of the town, and pay nothing for their education. The master is provided with a house, and has a salary of 60*l.* besides 10*l.* for fuel.

The old Temperance or Teetotal organisation has quite disappeared in Coleraine, though there are still numerous Teetotallers in the town, and its population is generally temperate. Some years back there were no fewer than from 1600 to 2000 men systematically enrolled as disciples of Father Mathew. The revival of all this good to the people only awaits the co-operation and direction of the clergy, as in the case of Limavaddy above mentioned, in which their influence, in this respect, has been of late so strikingly exhibited.

[1] View of the Origin of the Irish Society; Appendix, p. ccxxiii.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER.

Since entering the county of Londonderry, several things, some of which have been already incidentally mentioned, have greatly struck us, showing that, in passing into the province of Ulster, we had come among a people and among institutions, if not altogether different, at least differing very considerably from those heretofore witnessed by us. The physical character, the language, the predominant religion of the people, had all changed, and we had become aware of a new form of proprietorship comprehending a large proportion of the territory of the country. It seems therefore expedient, before advancing further into the province, to place here, in juxta-position, all my memorandums relating to these various points, whether made here or elsewhere.

In the beginning of the reign of James I, about the year 1607, a considerable portion of the province of Ulster having become vested in the Crown, by an act of attainder of many of its native Lords and proprietors, it was determined to *plant* a Pro-

testant colony there. For this purpose lands were granted to numerous parties in England and Scotland, under such conditions as then seemed essential to the success of the great objects in view, viz. the formation of a population that might be attached at once to the British rule and the Protestant religion. "We are not ignorant," writes King James in 1612 to the then Lord-Deputy of Ireland, "how much the real accomplishment of that Plantation concerns the future peace and safety of that kingdom; but if there were no reasons of State to press it forward, yet we would pursue and effect that work, with the same earnestness as we now do, merely for the goodness and morality of it; esteeming the settling of religion, the introducing of civility, order, and government among a barbarous and unsubjected people, to be the acts of piety and glory, and worthy also a Christian Prince to endeavour."

The parties to whom the lands were granted ("Undertakers," as they were called,) were of three sorts:—"1st. English or Scottish, who are to plant their portions with English or inland [lowland?] Scottish inhabitants. 2d. Servitors in the kingdom of Ireland, who are to take Irish, English, or Scottish tenants. 3d. Natives of Ireland, who are to be made freeholders." These estates were required to pay to the Crown an annual fee of only 6*s*. 8*d*. for every sixty acres; but the proprietors were required to build castles and houses, to provide men and arms for defence, and otherwise to do

all that was requisite for the cultivation and civilization of the country. Each Undertaker was obliged to reside on his property, or to have an acceptable deputy, for the first five years, and "within three years to plant a competent number of English or inland Scottish tenants upon his proportion as shall be prescribed by the Commissioners." This regulation was subsequently more strictly defined to the effect that, upon every 1000 English acres, the Undertaker was "to plant and place the number of twenty-four able men, being English or inland Scottish, and so rateably upon the other two proportions of 1500 and 2000 acres."

In an early period of these arrangements, the King considering the City of London to be especially well calculated to carry out his views, made an offer to this effect in 1609, through its then Lord Mayor, Humphrey Wild.[1] The chief motive influencing this offer seemed to be the expectation that the great Companies of London would be much abler than any private parties to re-establish and protect "the late ruinated City of Derry and one other place at or near the Castle of Coleraine," so as to make them capable of "affording safety and security to those that shall be sent thither to inhabit." Among the "motives and reasons to induce

[1] Many of the details in the text are taken from a printed but unpublished volume entitled "A Concise View of the Origin, &c. of the Irish Society," privately issued by the Society in the year 1842.

the City of London to undertake the plantation of the North of Ireland," held out by the King and his Ministers, besides the great and manifold direct benefits to accrue to the City from the various productions of the country, it is amusing to find enumerated the indirect advantages of thinning the population, and so rendering the city more healthy. "If," says the official document, "multitudes of men were employed, proportionably to the commodities which might there by industry be attained, many thousands would be set to work, when the infinite increasing greatness (that often doth minister occasion of ruin to itself) of this city might not only conveniently share, but also reap a singular commodity by easing themselves of an unsupportable burthen, which so surchargeth all parts of the city, that one tradesman can scarce live by another; which, in all probability, would be a means also to preserve the city from infection, (and, by consequence, the whole kingdom, which, of necessity, must have recourse thither,) which persons pestered or closed up together can neither otherwise or very hardly avoid."

After due negotiation and examination of the country by its agents, the City accepted the offer, according to the terms proposed, viz.:—"These towns (Derry and Coleraine) His Majesty may be pleased to grant, with such liberties and privileges as shall be convenient, but also the whole territory and country betwixt them, which is above twenty

miles in length, bounded by the sea on the north, the river Bann on the east, and the river Derry or Lough Foyle on the west: out of which 1000 acres more may be allotted to each of the towns, for their commons, rent free; the rest to be planted with such Undertakers as the City of London shall think good for their best profit, paying only for the same the easy rent of the Undertakers."

A few years afterwards (1613) the whole of the Irish property was divided into twelve lots, and balloted for by the Companies, each of the large Companies associating with itself a certain number of the lesser companies, so as to make the contributions of each of the twelve nominal Companies, towards the expenses of the undertaking, equal. And from that time forward the individual Companies had the entire government, management, and proceeds of their own properties in their own control respectively. At the time of the division of the estates, the Companies had been already assessed "towards the plantation of Ireland," to the amount of 40,000*l.*, a sum which was eventually swelled, by different assessments, to upwards of 60,000*l.* It is not much to be wondered at that the payment of these large sums made the Companies, at the time, think that they had made but an indifferent bargain, more especially as the annual value of the whole property was only then rated at 1800*l.* The price of produce and of some of the articles of domestic consumption, at that time, in Ulster (1613) will account

for this low estimate. The following are some of the prices of those days:—A cow or bullock, 15*s.* (about a halfpenny per lb.); a sheep, from 16*d.* to 2*s.*; a hog, 2*s.*; a "very long" salmon for 4*d.*, 6*d.*, or 8*d.*; barley, 11*d.* a bushel; oats, 4*d.* a bushel; strong beer, 16*s.* a barrel, (represented by the London Commissioners as very dear.) The bargain, however, has since proved to be one of the best ever made by the Citizens, the annual income from the property at present divided among the Companies being upwards of 100,000*l.* a year.

Previous to the division of the property among the Companies, the Common Council appointed a special Company or Society for supervising and managing the affairs of the Plantation. This Society shortly afterwards (in 1615) was incorporated under the name of "The Society of the Governor and Assistants of London of the new Plantation of Ulster;" and in 1662 received a second Charter from Charles II, under which it still exists. It is now known by the name of "The Honorable the Irish Society." At the period of the division of the property, this Society retained in its possession "the houses of Londonderry and Coleraine, the lands attached thereto, and the woods, ferries, and fisheries," as not being susceptible of division. This property they still retain, and may thus be considered as constituting a thirteenth Company.

The twelve great Companies among whom the Ulster property was divided, were the following:—Mercers, Grocers, Drapers, Fishmongers, Goldsmiths,

Skinners, Merchant Tailors, Haberdashers, Salters, Ironmongers, Vintners, Clothworkers. Four of these Companies (Goldsmiths, Haberdashers, Vintners, Merchant Tailors,) have since sold their rights in perpetuity; two (Salters and Skinners) have not yet got possession, owing to the non-expiration of a long lease granted by them; while the remaining six (Drapers, Fishmongers, Grocers, Mercers, Clothworkers, Ironmongers,) have had their estates under their own management for a good many years past. The estates are managed by resident agents, but none, I believe, are actually cultivated by the Companies. The Companies, as already stated, have the character of being excellent landlords: the rents being moderate; the tenants seldom molested in their tenure; and great liberality being shown in the maintenance of schools and in the support of other charitable institutions.

The whole property of the Companies is at present reckoned, in round numbers, at about 160,000 acres, and that of the Irish Society at 14,000, making a total of 174,000 acres; constituting, in fact, more than half the county. In a valuation of the whole of the county property made in 1802, for the purpose of levying the Cess, the Companies' property was calculated at 1492*l.*, while all the remaining property of the county was valued at 884*l.* A general idea of their individual extent may be gathered from these two facts: 1st, that the population on one of the properties (Fishmongers) amounts to upwards of 4000;

2d, that the individual Companies derive incomes from them varying from 8000*l.* to 16,000*l.* per annum.

The circumstance that most interested me in regard to the local administration of the Companies, was the marked patronage afforded by them to the education of the people on their respective estates, and, indeed, in the county generally. Having been kindly favoured by most of the Companies which have their estates in their own management, with some particulars relating to their respective schools, I am glad to be able to notice them in this place. They redound greatly to the honour of these bodies, as evincing, at once, great liberality of views, and a very paternal regard for the welfare of the people under their government. It will be seen that no consideration as to the religion of the children is allowed to interfere with the distribution of their bounty.

1. *The Irish Society.*—I have already noticed the admirable school in Coleraine, which is entirely supported by the Society. I will only here add, that its annual cost to the Society is upwards of 250*l.* This, however, is but a small proportion of the benefits contributed by the Society towards the education of the people in the county. According to an official document now before me, it appears that in the year 1851-2 it contributed funds towards the support of no less than ninety-one schools, amounting in all to 1466*l.* In addition to this sum the Society, during the same

year, expended in charitable donations of various kinds (including 550*l.* for building churches), the sum of 915*l.* 18*s.* In illustration of the liberal way in which the Society expends its funds, it may be stated that it contributes annually to the Lough Foyle College the following sums:

For the College	200*l.*
For two Masters, 40*l.* each	80*l.*
For five Exhibitions to Trinity College, Dublin, 30*l.* each	150*l.*
Total	430*l.*

It also subscribes 80*l.* annually to the Templemoyle Agricultural Schools. The net income of the Society, from its Irish property, during the year ending the 10th of February, 1852, was 12,429*l.* 6*s.* 11½*d.*

2. *Fishmongers' Company.*—This Company took the direction of its property into its own hands in the year 1820. Since then it has built and endowed numerous schools throughout the district. It now maintains eight schools entirely at its own expense, besides contributing to others partly supported from other quarters. The annual expenditure on schools, during many years, has varied from 354*l.* to 511*l.*, making an average considerably above 400*l.* Of the eight schools entirely supported by the Company, one is exclusively for boys, three exclusively for girls, and four for the two sexes. These schools, in the year 1852, contained 498 pupils of both sexes. I have not been able to

ascertain the proportion of the two religions in these schools; but as it appears that the proportion in the whole population on the Company's estates is very nearly as three to two, *i. e.*, three Protestants to two Catholics, it may be fairly inferred that there will be nearly the same proportion in the schools.

3. *Ironmongers' Company.*—This Company has no schools exclusively supported by itself, but it contributes to fifteen schools, of which number fourteen are National Schools. These schools lie in the parishes of Aghadoey, Desertoghil, Macosquin, Erigal, and Agivy, in a south-west direction from Coleraine, and about seven or eight miles distant from it. The following Table exhibits the chief particulars relating to them at the close of the year 1852:

No. of Schools.	Boys.	Girls.	Religion.			Salary from National Board.	Salary from Ironmongers' Company.	Probable amount of School Fees.
			Episcopalians.	Presbyterians.	Catholics.			
15	711	465	70	809	237	262*l.*	122*l.*	77*l.* 16*s.*

In the above enumeration the religion of the children is assumed from the known religion of their parents or nearest relations. Out of the whole fifteen schools, fourteen of the masters are Presbyterians and one Catholic.

4. *Mercers' Company.*—This Company's property lies near Kilree, on the river Bonn, eight or

ten miles to the south of Coleraine, and occupies a space of eight miles in length. It has been in the Company's own hands since the year 1832. It consists of upwards of 20,000 acres, and is understood to yield a rental of 8000*l.* The Company supports four double schools, that is, schools for both sexes, entirely at their own expense. Three of these schools have been long in operation, the fourth is now in the course of erection. The following are the numbers belonging to the schools in the year 1849, and the ratio of attendance by the children :

Sex.	On the books.	Present on the day of enumeration.	Average attendance.
Boys . . .	198	163	127
Girls . . .	203	165	149
Total . .	401	328	276

In all these schools there are residences for the masters and mistresses. The total cost to the Company is about 250*l.* per annum.

Beside these schools, there are two Sunday Schools in the town of Kilree, to which the Company annually subscribes ; to the one (Established Church), 12*l.*; to the other (Presbyterian), 10*l.* 10*s.* It, moreover, contributes small annual sums, amounting in all to about 100*l.*, to nineteen inferior schools scattered over the property.

5. *Grocers' Company.*—The estates of this Com-

pany lie chiefly in the parishes of Faughanvale, Glendermott, and Cumber, on the eastern and northern side of Londonderry, and partly adjoining Lough Foyle. There are on the property two large schools entirely supported by the Company, and quite free to all the children on the estate, everything being found for them. The schools are attended on an average by about 300 children, male and female. The Company also pay the masters of two small country schools in the mountainous district; and contribute the following sums annually to other educational establishments within their territory:

To the Agricultural College of Templemoyle	40*l.* 0*s.*
To Erasmus Smith's School in Muff	10*l.* 0*s.*
To a School in Lower Cumber	3*l.* 3*s.*
To ditto in Glendermott	2*l.* 2*s.*

The total annual outlay of the Company on schools exceeds 200*l.*; not to mention the previous expenditure of full 3000*l.* in building and repairing the school-houses.

6. *Clothworkers' Company.* — This Company's property lies in the vicinity of Coleraine. It has no schools exclusively its own, but it gives liberal support to eleven different schools on or near its property. These schools altogether contain 606 children; and of these, 311, rather more than half, are paid for by the Company. The Company also contributes 100*l.* annually towards the payment of the salaries of the masters and mistresses of the

eleven schools; being two fifths of the whole amount received by them. Five of the eleven schools are in connection with the National Board.

The foregoing statements place the London Companies in a very favorable light as to their liberal and enlightened views in caring for the children on their estates. What was stated to me by the local agent of one of the Companies, is, I believe, equally applicable to all—viz. "that every child on the estate, be the parents poor or rich, receives a good education perfectly free of expense." The same gentleman, in a letter with which he has favoured me, does not, I think, exaggerate the educational resources of the districts in which the Companies' estates are situated, when he says: "The general fact in regard to the estates of the London Companies is certainly this—that the means of education, open and free to all, are so ample, that the parents of the children are distracted as to which of the schools —the Companies' Schools, the National Schools, Erasmus Smith's Schools, or the schools of private individuals—supply the best instruction, and are to be preferred." He adds, "There are also Sunday Schools at the churches, the meeting-houses, and the chapels; and the Presbyterian body are about to erect schools at all their meeting-houses."

It is universally known that the Plantation project of the government of King James, as above stated,

had the effect of bringing into Ulster an immense number of "Planters" both from England and Scotland; perhaps more plentifully from Scotland than from England. To the enterprising people of so poor a country as Scotland, the liberal offers of the English government proved an immense temptation, which was still further strengthened by the consideration, that, in yielding to it, they were only obeying the behest of their countryman and King. It is also not unlikely that their compliance with their Sovereign's wishes was still further stimulated by some superior facilities of settlement accorded by the King's known partiality for his old subjects. The near neighbourhood of Scotland, as facilitating the transport, must also be considered; the distance of the point of Tor, on the north coast of Antrim, being less than twenty miles from the Scottish peninsula of Cantyre. Neither are the many other descents—some of a directly-hostile character, some with a view to settlement—made by the Scots on this district, to be entirely overlooked in a question of this kind. At all events, it is very certain that the immigration of the Scots, (not only at the time of the Plantation of Ulster, but at other times also,) was carried to a great extent in the most northern counties of Ireland. In proof of this, we need no other evidence than the persistence of the lowland Scottish language in all the country districts of Ulster, even up to the present day.

As, however, there came into the country, at the

same time, a large body of English; and as a great proportion of the native Irish of the lower class still remained; there resulted, in due time, a very mixed breed, combining, as it is thought, more or less of the physical and moral qualities of the three races. It is generally believed that this cross or mixture of bloods has improved the animal in its psychical attributes: most assuredly it has not promoted the development of those physical qualities which constitute what is regarded as personal beauty, both of face and figure. In these respects, I think every one who takes an extensive survey of Ireland, must come to the conclusion that the natives of the southern and western parts of the island, where the blood is pure, or has been only intermixed with that of a still handsomer race (the Spanish), have greatly the advantage of their northern countrymen. It is generally believed in Ulster—and the belief seems sufficiently confirmed both by the prevailing language and the prevailing religion—that the Scottish element is the predominant one in the constitution of the actual race of its inhabitants. It is from Scotland, they say, that they have derived the hard-headedness and cold calculating shrewdness, which contrast so strongly with the hearty impulsiveness and bright mercurialism of the genuine Milesian. But if my countrymen lay the flattering unction to their souls that they have given their mental character to their Irish neighbours, I do not see how they can refuse to admit an equal share in the

comparative uncomeliness which is certainly as much their portion as are their common-sense views and industrious habits. If they claim the larger and firmer brain, they must be content to father also the squarer visage and the harsher features.

The Scottish nation is, no doubt, still more proud of having planted its own favorite religion in the north of Ireland, and even of having effected its final establishment as the dominant religion of that portion of the island. In no other part of Ireland can Protestantism, in any of its other forms, boast of so great a success against Catholicism as that of Presbyterianism in Ulster, more especially in that north-eastern portion of it nearest to Scotland, comprising the counties of Londonderry, Antrim, Tyrone, and Down. In these counties the Presbyterian population not only greatly exceeds, in point of numbers, the members of the Church of England, but in many places exceeds those of the Catholic Church also. It is generally supposed, that taking the whole province of Ulster, the population is pretty-equally divided among the professors of the three religions; but this calculation does not appear to be founded on very positive data.

Inquiry on the spot, on this head, gives no satisfactory results. Recent data being wanting, conjecture naturally takes the place of statistics in the mind of ordinary persons. As a general rule I found that the members of the different religious

sects rated their own numbers higher than they were rated by the rival sects. This fact, however, was sufficiently evident, viz. that the upper and middle classes, generally speaking, are Protestants, chiefly Presbyterians, while the lower classes are still mainly Catholics.

In regard to the general question of the relative proportions of the three religions in this part of Ireland, and in Ulster generally, I shall content myself with giving a few statistical memorandums derived from authentic official sources.

I. Ecclesiastical statistics of all Ireland in 1834:

Established Church	852,064
Roman Catholics	6,427,717
Presbyterians	642,356
Other Protestants	21,808

II. Of the Diocese of Derry[1] in 1824:

Established Church	50,350
Roman Catholics	196,614
Presbyterians	120,077

III. Of the parish of Templemore, in which the principal part of the City of Londonderry is situated, in 1834:

Established Church	3314
Presbyterians and other Protestants	6247
Catholics	10,299

[1] The diocese of Derry comprehends nearly all the county of Derry, large sections of the counties of Donegal and Tyrone, and a small portion of Antrim.

iv. Of Londonderry, within and without the walls, in 1834:

Established Church	2572
Presbyterians	2154
Roman Catholics	7098

v. Of twelve parishes in the county of Derry, connected with the property of London Companies in the year 1834:

Established Church	8352
Roman Catholics	27,512
Presbyterians	39,406

vi. Private census of the population of the Fishmongers' estates, between Londonderry and Newtown-Limavaddy, from 1820 to 1850:

	1820.	1838.	1848.	1850.
Established Church	334	277	418	407
Catholics	1682	2082	1540	1590
Presbyterians	3239	2889	2057	2083
Total	5255	5248	4015	4080

Uniting the five last local tables together, we have the general proportional results, in round numbers, as follows:

Church of England	1
Presbyterians	3
Roman Catholics	5

Or, uniting the different denominations of Protestants together, we have the proportion of Pro-

testants to Catholics as four to five or as three to four nearly.

Though, without any pretension to notice such things systematically, I feel that it would be unfair to the intellectual character of Ulster, not to add a few memorandums on the subject of education in the province. I therefore have drawn up the two following Tables from the Parliamentary returns, and leave them to tell their own story. The first of these, as well as exhibiting the amount of education at the time specified (1824), affords another medium for judging of the relative prevalence of the three religions, not only in the province generally, but in the individual counties.

VII. Return of children of the three religions attending the schools in the province of Ulster in 1824:

Counties.	Established Church.	Presbyterians, &c.	Catholics.
Antrim . . .	3855	13,061	3866
Derry	2443	6772	4503
Tyrone . . .	4722	7355	7482
Down	4308	11,699	6237
Donegal . . .	4071	3062	6725
Armagh . . .	2338	3888	5236
Monaghan . .	2338	2153	6473
Fermanagh . .	5211	237	4314
Cavan	3989	947	2757
Total . .	33,275	49,174	47,593

Although the following Table is especially intended to exhibit the state of education in Ulster,

similar particulars respecting the other provinces of Ireland are added, partly for the sake of comparison, and partly because the information is generally important.

Provinces.	Total Population in 1841.	Total number of Schools in 1824.	Total number of National Schools in 1851.	Proportion of Schools to the whole Population, 1841.	Proportion of National Schools in 1851 to the whole Population in 1841.	Per centage of Population from 5 years and upwards who can neither read nor write, 1841.	Per centage of Population, from 5 to 15 years of age, attending Schools, 1841.	Ratio of Teachers to the amount of Population between 5 and 15.
				One to	One to			One to
Ulster . .	2,386,373	3449	1878	691	1271	38.46	20.1	142
Leinster .	1,973,731	3492	1156	565	1710	45.53	25.4	107
Munster . .	2,396,161	3359	1089	713	2200	54.33	29.2	121
Connaught .	1,418,859	1523	583	965	2433	66.97	19.4	181

The great majority of the schools in Ulster, whether Catholic or Presbyterian, are either purely National Schools or are partially supported by the National Board. In the National Schools, which may be called—from the class of children attending them—Presbyterian, a slight modification of the ordinary religious instruction has been conceded by the Board; the Bible itself, not merely extracts from it, being read daily in many of the schools. No children, however, whose parents object, are compelled to read the Bible; much less to submit to any catechetical instruction not approved by them.

All the Presbyterian congregations have Sunday Schools in connection with them: always one either in the church or congregational school-house, and others spread over the district; this class of schools being considered as an essential part of the Presbyterian economy.

The great superiority of the numbers of Presbyterians in the Presbyterian counties of Ulster, in relation to the number of members of the English Church, produces among the former feelings and conduct analogous to those existing among the Catholics in the other parts of Ireland, and hence tends to unite, politically, these two bodies against the Established Church. I believe, at the recent election, they were found very generally voting together against the Conservatives. Indeed, I think the feeling among the Presbyterians, and especially among the Presbyterian clergy, against the English Church, is almost as strong as that of the Catholics. They speak of the fine churches, the large stipends, and small congregations of the Establishment, and especially of the system of tithes, much in the same spirit as they are spoken of elsewhere by the Catholics. They seem to regard the *Regium Donum*, now amounting to 75*l.* per annum to every Presbyterian clergyman, as a most inadequate provision, and as in no way imposing either contentment or silence on its acceptors. Not a few, however, seem very willing to forego this trifling boon, in order that they may feel

themselves altogether free from any connection with the State. It is curious, however, to observe, that while still receiving this Government allowance, the Presbyterian clergy seem to be all warm sympathisers with their Free Kirk brethen in Scotland; a piece of inconsistency which some among themselves seem rather ashamed of, and which is sharply animadverted on by the other dissenting Protestant sects in the country.

The Presbyterians of Ulster look upon themselves, and justly, as the dominant power, both in Church and state, in that part of Ireland. They affect the spirit and bearing of orthodoxy; and regarding themselves as constituting an affiliated branch of the Church of Scotland, they repudiate the name of Dissenters. They call their places of worship Presbyterian Churches, leaving the titles of Chapel and Meeting-house to the Catholics and to the Protestants of inferior dignity. These last, however, it may be remarked by the way, constitute a large proportion of the Protestant population in many parts of Ulster; and some of them rank themselves under titles which one hardly expects to find beyond the boundary of Scotland. In a paper now before me, containing a statement of the religious profession of the students in Belfast College, I find, beside English Churchmen, Catholics, and members of the General Assembly (orthodox Presbyterians), the following designations: Non-Subscribers, Baptists, Wesleyans, Independents, Seceders, Covenanters.

As might be expected from their political bias, the Presbyterians, whether tenants or not, are strong advocates for Tenant-Right, and are prepared to join any sect or party that will co-operate with them in procuring its legal enactment. The more sober-minded, however, go no further on this point than what seems reasonably the tenant's due, viz. compensation, in some form, for considerable improvements of an undoubted kind, which they themselves or their fathers have effected, or for which they have, with the sanction of the landlords, paid money to their predecessors. I spoke with several farmers on the subject of this Tenant-Right, and found most of them, though certainly not all, rational and sober in their views. A small farmer I met in Coleraine market told me that he and his father and grandfather had lived on the farm now occupied by him for nearly a hundred years, during which time they had, among them, not only reclaimed it from a mere bog to be a fertile soil, but had built all the houses now upon it at their own expense. He considered himself as not only liable to be removed, but as likely to be so, at any time, and believed that he was fully entitled to compensation if this should be the case. I began by reasoning with him on the ground that he and his predecessors, during the long course of time they had possessed the land, must have derived advantages, from their own improvement of the soil, sufficient to cover the outlay on the houses; but he

met this argument by the fact, that the landlord had deprived them, in a great measure, of these advantages, by increasing the rent in proportion to the improvement! The case of another farmer was harder still, as he had actually paid, out of his own pocket, a considerable sum to his predecessor on the farm for his improvements, and this with the cognisance and sanction of the landlord, who, he had good grounds for fearing, was, at this moment, meditating his removal, without compensation, in order to consolidate his property into larger farms.

These are instances of a state of things which may be said to be general in this part of the country, and which seems to sanction the claim of Tenant-Right as just and reasonable; and I believe the claim is less resisted on the score of injustice, than from the difficulty of meeting it in a way likely to be satisfactory to both parties. The landlords, generally speaking, have not the ability to pay a money compensation, even if its amount could be adjusted. The more prevalent opinion seems to be that the compensation could and should be made in the shape of a prolonged lease at a fixed and moderate rental. At any rate, it is sufficiently obvious that the question of Tenant-Right, like the other great questions of Emigration and the Church monopoly, is tending strongly to foster a spirit of dissatisfaction and a feeling of uncertainty as to the future, that is most detrimental to the good of Ireland and the happiness of its people.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GIANT'S CAUSEWAY.

We left Coleraine about four o'clock for Portrush and the Giants' Causeway, our road lying directly north, and considerably to the east of the mouth of the Bann and of the small watering place of Port Stewart. Though on the borders we were still within the limits of the county of Londonderry, until we came into the vicinity of Portrush, when we entered the county of Antrim. Portrush is about five miles from Coleraine, and may be regarded as its seaport. Small vessels, it is true, come up the Bann as far as Coleraine itself, but its main export and import trade is conducted at Portrush, which has a commodious and safe harbour capable of receiving large ships.

Portrush is a neat little town, beautifully situated on the shores of its own small bay, and commanding splendid views of the Donegal mountains on the west, and of the range of magnificent sea-cliffs on the east, at and beyond the Giants' Causeway. Beside the town, properly so called, there is at a little distance from it, close on the sea-bank, a neat

new village much resorted to for sea-bathing, and as a place of summer residence. It would not be easy to find on any coast a more attractive spot than this, when we take into account its fine beach, the splendid coast scenery it commands, and the magnificent ocean spreading out illimitably in its front.

There is an active traffic carried on between Portrush and the Scottish ports, both by sailing vessels and steamers. One of the latter was lying in the harbour when we passed by it; and another, which had just sailed, kept in our view all along the coast till we approached the vicinity of the Giants' Causeway. There was also in the harbour a vessel destined for Scotland, loading with a cargo of that remarkable white limestone (indurated chalk) which intermixes so curiously along the coast with the trap or basaltic rock.

At Portrush we made our first acquaintance with that glorious sea-cliff-road which bounds so large a portion of the magnificent shores of Antrim, and of which we subsequently saw so much in our journey to Belfast. On the eastern shore this road has existed a good many years, but this Portrush fragment has only been constructed about four years. In tracing it onwards towards the Causeway, every one must be struck by its remarkable features. Formed, as it were, in the face of the sea-rampart, midway between the beach and the top of the cliff, it commands the most beautiful and romantic shore-

scenery that can well be imagined; retreating with each retiring bay, advancing round each "beaked promontory," and so opening up new views, each rivalling the other, at every stage of the traveller's progress. Many of the sea-worn cliffs below, and many of the sharp-angled cliffs above, assume the most fantastic shapes, and are rendered still more picturesque from the singular contrast presented by the intermingling, here and there, of snow-white ridges and fragments of indurated chalk with the dark basaltic rock which constitutes the great mass of this iron-bound coast.

On one of the promontories, or rather on an insulated rock, joined to the shore by an artificial bridge-like mound, is situated the celebrated ruins of Dunluce Castle, still imposing by their vast extent and massiveness. The rock on which this castle is built rises up there to the height of 100 feet from the water, which washes it on three of its sides. The castle, as may be seen by its existing ruins, is evidently not of very ancient date, that is to say, not beyond the date of a few centuries back, when feudalism had been softened by advancing civilization. It resembles, both in its position and character, many of the old castles which crown the sea-cliffs in Scotland, and was, no doubt, in its day a fortress of great strength. Like all the other headlands of the coast, it commands magnificent views of sea and land. Its walls, like those of

all middle-age castles, are of enormous thickness, and the apartments generally of small extent. I observed that the jambs or facings of the windows, still remaining entire, are formed of pieces of columnar basalt, shaped for use by the hand of nature in the neighbouring cliffs, and answering the purpose as well, and almost as neatly, as the hewn stones ordinarily used.

A short way beyond Dunluce Castle, the road turns off from the shore in order to get round the top of a small bay, the estuary of the river Bush, which runs inwards from the coast to the east of the Giant's Causeway, towards the small town of Bushmill. In passing through this place, we took up John King, the guide, and about a mile and a half beyond reached our resting-place for the night, the new and splendid Causeway hotel.

There being still, however, about an hour's daylight, we took advantage of the attendance of our guide, and, while dinner was preparing, proceeded to view some of the accessories of the Causeway usually visited by strangers. In so doing, we followed one of the two principles which we had laid down for our guidance on first undertaking this journey, and to which I, at least, had rigidly adhered throughout;—these principles being, 1st, not to leave any portion of time, except that devoted to sleep and meals, unoccupied by one or other of the objects contemplated in our visit to Ireland; and

2d, to give no consideration to the weather, that unworthy bugbear of northern men, so long as it was not altogether inhibitory. By adhering to these principles (which I recommend to the notice of all travellers whose time is limited), and so making use not merely of the large and unbroken masses of time, but of all the fragments, however disjointed or small, we were enabled to do and see and hear more, than would have been possible, even during a considerably longer period, on the ordinary plan of jaunty travelling.

Even if our present crepuscular activity had gained us nothing more than forestalling work that would have taken something from the hours of to-morrow, we should have been the gainers so far; not to mention the happy exchange of the tedium of dinner-waiting within doors, for the attractions of air and sea and sky without. But we did gain something positive also in the way of sight-seeing. After rowing half a mile or more within the shadow of the dark vertical cliff, we pushed suddenly into a large cavern in the rock, where our boat lay as in a roofed harbour. This is the great Dunkerry cave, said to be about 100 feet in height, and 600 feet long. Being a mere chasm in the rock, with walls of amorphous basalt, without any trace of crystallization, it exhibits no feature of special interest to the mere sight-seer. It possesses, however, the geological interest of presenting, in open section, the huge rift in the strata, originally filled

by a whin dyke; the cave being constituted by the partial removal of the intruding vein or dyke.

Before parting with our guide, we arranged to start early next morning on an expedition to see the Giant's Causeway. We accordingly set out at a little after six, walking down to the small cove immediately under the hotel, and taking the same four-oared boat we had used the evening before.

Previous to starting, however, I will, for the benefit of my readers, say a few words respecting the sights here to be seen; as the simple term, GIANT'S CAUSEWAY, is sure to mislead those who have not had the advantage of hearing or reading any account of the locality. The ordinary notion entertained respecting the Causeway, I think, is, that it is a huge and lofty rocky promontory, composed of basaltic columns, and stretching out, in an isolated form, into the main sea. This, at least, was the idea I had of it, until I was enlightened by the account of a friend who had visited it. Now, the truth is, that what is properly termed THE CAUSEWAY, is by no means a scenic feature of this magnitude or grandeur, and constitutes only a small portion of the sights usually comprehended under the one generic name of THE GIANT'S CAUSEWAY. The mere Causeway, as will be shown hereafter, has indeed neither grandeur nor scenic beauty; its charm and overpowering interest being derived from quite a different source: while the ranges of cliffs that bound it behind and stretch along the shore to the eastward

of it, exhibit so wonderful a combination of those twin charms, as is, I believe, hardly to be paralleled elsewhere. It was those cliffs, about two miles eastward of the real Causeway, that were the first objects of our present excursion.

The morning was delightfully fine, the sky bright, and the sun shining smilingly on the eastern face of every cliff that towered above our boat as we passed along. The scene before us may be described, in general terms, as an iron-bound deep-sea shore, beachless and landless, and girt in by a titanic rampart of rugged rock, shooting almost vertically upwards to the height of between 300 and 400 feet. Looking at this rampart more in detail, and in its horizontal direction, we observe that the cliffs of which it is composed, are broken and indented by an irregular succession of projections and retrocessions so as to form an alternating series of narrow promontories shooting sheer upwards from the water, and of bay-like or valley-like hollows, here and there sloping sufficiently backwards to admit of a scanty covering of verdure at their base. Regarded in their vertical aspect, the whole mass of cliff, from top to bottom, is seen to be divided into a succession of huge beds or strata, of different colours and structure, traceable horizontally as far as the projecting vertical ledges will allow. Among these strata, which may amount to nine or ten in all, there are two always most conspicuous and sure to rivet the visitor's eye by their singular formality of

aspect, and by their no less striking beauty; these are the two beds of columnar basalt, the one midway up the cliff, the other near the top of it, and which are seen to run horizontally along the rock, like broad ornamental string-courses along the front of a house. Then, last of all and over all, crowning the whole like a rampart, and generally cutting the back-ground of sky beyond with a sharp line, comes a huge stratum of dark semi-columnar rock, steep as the wall of a house; a striking and well-known configuration, to be seen in every pictorial representation of this part of the coast of Antrim.

The columnar beds of basalt, whether appearing as continuous bands in the cliffs, or as isolated masses in the intervening slopes, possess irresistible attractions for the stranger. They not only impress immediately upon the mind the livelier perception of outward and material beauty in one of its most picturesque forms, but they modify and strengthen this sentiment in a marvellous degree, by impelling the observer's thoughts to stray into the more shadowy and mysterious realms of science in search of causes, and so awaken the emotions of wonder and awe, to animate and deepen the impression. This impression is, perhaps, still further enhanced by the singularly distinct and insulated position of the columnar masses, both in the cliffs and slopes, which circumstance not only tends to fix the attention on them with more earnestness, but by placing them in contrast with the other rocks,

superadds the fresh charms springing from variety and novelty.

The columnar masses seen on the slopes, though less grand in their effect than the great beds in the cliffs, are perhaps fully as interesting; and they are very picturesque also. Generally speaking these masses are perfectly isolated, and look as if they had sprung up perpendicularly from the sloping sward and then stood still, their fluted face looking towards the sea—each set in its frame of green. Sometimes several of these masses are seen on the same slope, one above the other, or ranging sideways on the same horizontal line. It will be remarked, however, that in the slopes, as in the cliffs, there is never in any case more than two such masses, or two ranges of such masses, one above the other in the same place, and also,—where the position of the respective parts allow the relation to be traced,—that the isolated columnar masses are always in the same horizontal line as the columnar beds in the neighbouring cliffs.

Whoever sees these abrupt isolated masses for the first time, will not, I am sure, be surprised to learn that their formal and art-like aspect has acquired for them, in the language of the district, various names derived from the familiar objects they are supposed to resemble. Thus the guides are incessantly indicating, as the boat passes along, numerous well-known articles as appertaining to the domestic economy of the great mythological genius of the

place—such as the Giant's bed, the Giant's chair, the Giant's organ, the Giant's loom, the Giant's gateway, his well, &c.

The most beautiful and picturesque point of these cliffs, and that in which the various strata, particularly the columnar, are most regularly shown, is called Pleaskin. A very good representation of this is given in the accompanying plate, though I think no drawing could do full justice to its splendour and magnificence, as seen by us in the morning sunshine from our boat.

I have said, that here and in the neighbouring cliffs, there are only two beds of columnar basalt to be seen, one above the other. Further to the eastward, however, at Portmoon, there are seen in the cliffs, at least four of these columnar beds, though two of them are less distinct; and, what is curious, as has been shown by Dr. Richardson, three at least of these four have been broken off and so disappeared on the surface, before reaching Pleaskin; in such wise that the upper columnar stratum of this cliff is the lowest of the four that show themselves further east. This will be more precisely explained by means of a diagram in a subsequent page.

Returning from these magnificent scenes, and just as we had reached their western extremity, the boat turned into a small bay, and landed us on a low pier-like mass of columnar rock, surrounded on three sides by the sea, and sloping gently upwards

Drawn and Lithographed by W.L. Walton.

Hullmandel & Walton, Imp.

PLEASKIN, GIANT'S CAUSEWAY.

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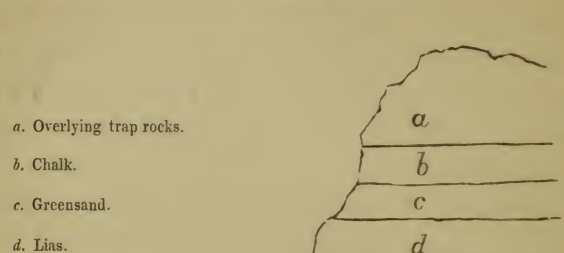
from the water, under which its outer extremity is evidently submerged. This is the GIANT'S CAUSEWAY, strictly and properly so called; an object, as I have said, neither grand nor picturesque, yet calculated to excite in the mind of every beholder feelings the most profound and various, and to inspire an intensity of interest rarely awakened by mere material nature. But the special configuration and character, and the conditions under which it came to assume its actual position and aspect, will be best understood by considering it, in the first place, in its relations to the neighbouring strata, and those in their relations to the general geological structure of the district. All this can be explained very briefly; and in doing so I shall avail myself partly of the excellent old memoirs of Dr. Richardson,[1] but chiefly of the more recent and excellent little memoir of Mr. Bryce, on the general geology of Antrim.[2]

The general surface of the district is occupied by basaltic rocks and other members of the trap family, originally ejected from beneath in a fluid state, and spread over the pre-existing rocks now lying beneath them. Immediately under the trap lies a bed of chalk, and under the chalk, first a bed of greensand and then a bed of lias. This last is in

[1] "Dubourdieu's Statistical Survey of the County of Antrim." Dublin: 1812.

[2] "Geological Notices of the Environs of Belfast," &c. By James Bryce, jun., M.A. Belfast: 1852.

immediate contact with the fundamental rock, the new red sandstone. The annexed diagram will show the arrangement more distinctly:

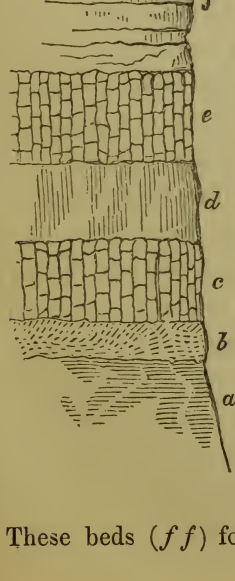


The thickness of these beds varies greatly in different situations. Mr. Bryce says, that when normally developed, the chalk may be stated at about 100 feet, the greensand at about 40, and the lias from 30 to 60; while, on some mountains, the whole series of the igneous rocks has an aggregate thickness of from 900 to 1200 feet.

The more normal arrangement of the rocks varies considerably in different places. For instance, the lias and greensand are often wanting, and the chalk is then found resting on the sandstone or some rock still lower; while, on the other hand, the chalk is often absent, at least partially, as in the Giant's Causeway cliffs, the trap rocks there lying immediately on the ochrey and greensand beds. Even when the chalk is present, the basaltic rocks seldom rest directly on it, an ochreous conglomerate, mixed

with clay, being usually interposed. "The lower part of the trap series, next the chalk, consists chiefly of amygdaloid, intermingled with greenstone, tabular basalt, and thin courses of red ochre. The middle region is occupied by great beds of columnar basalt and red ochre, while the upper portion consists chiefly of coarse crystalline greenstone."

The annexed section, taken from Mr. Bryce's Memoir, shows the position and relations of the six great beds in the cliffs east of the Giant's Causeway.



f f. Several beds of basalt, ochre, and greenstone.

e. Upper bed or range of columnar basalt, 54 feet.

d. Bed of irregular prismatic basalt, 54 feet.

c. First bed or range of columnar basalt, 45 feet.

b. The great ochre bed, from 20 to 25 feet.

a. Amygdaloid, with greenstone and thin courses of red and speckled ochre, 160 feet thick, as seen above water in Pleaskin.

g. Sea-line.

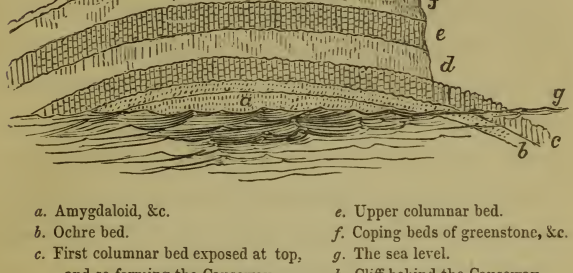
h. Sandstone under water, not seen.

These beds (*f f*) form the top of the cliffs and

grassy knolls rising behind. When complete, as they are in the eastern cliffs towards Portmoon, they are 150 feet thick.

Keeping in view this arrangement of the strata, as holding good over all the causeway district, it becomes easy to understand the relation of the Giant's Causeway proper to the neighbouring cliffs, and how it has come to occupy its present position and to exhibit its present aspect. About a mile east of Bengore, as first noticed by Dr. Richardson, these strata are seen to emerge in the order described, from beneath the sea line, and, as they advance westward, to rise gradually upwards in an arched form, the arch attaining its greatest height (400 feet) above Pleaskin. The strata then gradually descending, and with a gentle curve, touch, at the distance of about two miles from Pleaskin, the water line in such manner that the ochre bed (*b*) dips entirely under the water, and the lower columnar range (*c*) is partially immerged, a portion of it towards the land still remaining above the sea-level. Now, if we conceive, that the cause (whatever it may have been) which by the fracture of the strata formed the sea cliff, broke off all the beds above the lower columnar bed, leaving this entire, we see at once how the Causeway was formed, it being simply the upper surface of the columnar bed, left bare or partially submerged. This description will be rendered still clearer by a diagram representing an imaginary section of the rocks.

The GIANT'S CAUSEWAY PROPER, that is, as we now understand it, the denuded upper surface and partially denuded sides of the lowest stratum of



a. Amygdaloid, &c.
b. Ochre bed.
c. First columnar bed exposed at top, and so forming the Causeway.
d. Bed of prismatic basalt.
e. Upper columnar bed.
f. Coping beds of greenstone, &c.
g. The sea level.
h. Cliff behind the Causeway.

columnar basalt, as seen in Pleaskin, is, as already mentioned, in no wise striking as a scenic feature. It may be generally described as consisting of three collateral piers or rocky ledges, one higher, longer and larger, the eastern; the others shorter and smaller; each running to a point where they disappear under the water. The eastern margin of the larger pier rises up boldly from the shore so as to present a vertical columnar wall, 35 feet in height, the individual columns being perfectly distinct from top to bottom. This portion goes by the name of *the loom*. The central pier, which is of a pyramidal configuration, rises in its central part, termed the honeycomb, to the height of 30 feet; and the smallest or north-western pier is still lower.

Towards the landside the columns are broken off,

and may be said to be submerged under the mass of sand and fragments of broken rock heaped upon the shore. There is a very short space of flat ground between the inner extremity of the Causeway and the rocky amphitheatre behind it. In the face of this there are many patches of exposed columnar basalt. One of these immediately behind the Causeway is called the "Horizontal Pillars," because the prisms project horizontally out of the cliff; and another to the eastward of the Causeway, called the "Giant's Organ," exhibits a fine display of vertical columns, conveying the impression as if they were supports of the mountain above them.

The following are the exact dimensions of the whole Causeway, as taken by a surveyor, by my directions :—

SUPERFICIAL EXTENT.

	Feet.
Length of Grand Causeway from N. to S. to low water mark	720
Breadth of ditto from E. to W.	180
Length of Middle Causeway from N. to S.	350
Breadth of ditto from E. to W.	100
Length of Little or Western Causeway	150
Breadth of ditto from E. to W.	80
Height of ditto at the highest part	20
Breadth of Whinstone dyke between Middle and Grand Causeway	50
Breadth of whole three Causeways from E. to W.	410

HEIGHTS.

Highest point of Grand Causeway ("Looms" at S. end) above low-water mark	35
Height of N. W. point of Grand Causeway	13
Ditto of "Honey Comb" (in Middle Causeway)	30
Ditto of "Giant's Well"	6

The individual columns of the Causeway vary

greatly in size as well as in configuration, exhibiting every number of sides from 3 to 9, and having a diameter varying from 15 to 26 inches. The great majority, however, have 5, 6, or 7 sides; a few have 4 and 8; and it is said that only three are found with 9 sides, and only one with 3. It is hardly necessary to state that the individual columns are all divided into separate portions and united together by socketed joinings, a concavity in one corresponding to a convexity in the other. These joinings, though perfectly distinct and visible, are so close and fine that they are impervious to water, and do not allow the different pieces to be separated, except by great force. The length of the distinct pieces or joints is very various, ranging from 4 inches to 4 feet. One of the pillars of the Causeway is said to have 38 joints. There is no fixed rule as to the existence of either the convexity or the concavity in the individual pieces, some having two convex ends, some two concave ends, and some one convex and one concave. In no case is the concavity or convexity great, the vertical extent of either seldom being more than an inch, generally less. There is also much variety as to the width of these concavities or convexities, the outer edge of them sometimes coming quite to the outer faces of the columns, sometimes keeping considerably within these.

Whatever be the configuration of the columns they are almost as closely joined together laterally,

as the individual joints are. The junction is, in fact, purely linear, no open space whatever being found, so that they are as perfectly water-tight in their lateral as in their vertical union.

As may be gathered from what has been already stated respecting the height of the different piers, the general surface of the whole Causeway is extremely irregular, only a very small portion of it being flat, like a mosaic pavement.

Although not obvious to an ordinary observer, it would appear from Mr. Bryce's account, that the columns constituting the three portions of Causeway all lean inwards towards one another, that is, towards a central point; a circumstance accounted for by Mr. Bryce, on the supposition that they all stand "upon a concave depression in the upper surface of the ochre bed, the pillars being at right angles to the concave surface." We are also informed by Mr. Bryce, that he has been enabled to trace some of the columns to their base, and found them resting on the bed of ochre. This might be expected from the fact, that the height of these columns measured in the great cliff is only from 40 to 45 feet, while we have seen that some of them in the Causeway rise from 30 to 40 feet above the sea-beach.

A distinguishing feature in the geology of all this district, is the frequency of dykes or huge veins of basalt, cutting the other strata across at a large angle. Two of these are seen to cut the prisms of

the Causeway across, and are, in fact, the means of dividing them into the three ranges or piers of which it is composed. Over a large space of the Causeway the upper part of the dykes have been broken off, so that the piers look as if they were separated rather by hollows than by prominences.

An excellent and very characteristic representation of the causeway, as seen from its shoreward extremity, the spectator looking seaward or to the north, is given in the Frontispiece to this Volume.

After regarding the Causeway in the humble, mechanical fashion we have just been doing, it is not easy at once to recover and realize the feelings with which it was contemplated, when we first landed on it from our boat, and saw all the pure natural yet artificial-looking wonders, spread out in one view before our eyes and beneath our feet. It is, however, impossible for any one who has seen it ever to forget, I think, how strange, how lively and how profound his feelings were when he first set foot upon it: the whole mind (in my own case at least) being crowded with emotions differing, if not in their nature, certainly in their combination, from any previously derived from the influence of scenery, however beautiful or picturesque, however grand or even sublime.

I shall not attempt to analyse the precise nature of the complex mental state experienced, nor to trace its various constituents to their sources; but I think the great elemental feeling was WONDER—wonder at

the mere outward and material objects cognizable by the senses—wonder, tenfold wonder—at the various and manifold conceptions and imaginations springing up instantaneously in the inner mind, like magical creations, around this one primary and central emotion. What is this? How came it here? Whence did it come? How was it formed? When was it formed? Of what was it formed? What was this globe of ours at the time it was formed? What before? What since? Was it a mere mass of inorganic matter, with its elements in repose?—with its elements in strife? Or was it, as now, the field and theatre of beautiful life? Of life unconscious? Of life self-conscious? Of both? And—most awful and most bewildering thought of all—when—when was this? How long ago? Was it at the distance of inconceivable myriads of ages before its present rational lord was placed upon its surface, to contemplate it, to investigate it, to enjoy it?

These are, I think, some of the elemental notions, which together made up the great mysterious wonder with which the mind was filled. In my wordy attempt to specify them, I hope I have not conveyed the idea to others that I am wilfully indulging in exaggeration, if not in sheer extravagance; much less that my feelings or emotions, whatever may have been their nature, extended beyond the sober amount of those commonly experienced by men who are lovers of nature,

when they chance to be placed amid scenes highly impressive. It is certainly a simple matter of fact, that, on this occasion, I was more deeply impressed by what I saw, and by what the scene suggested, than I had ever previously been by mere scenery;—always excepting one entrancing sight on the Riffelberg, when Monte Rosa and the Matterhorn, with all their sublimity, were seen to hold scarcely more than their equal part in that skiey circle of Alps of which they form two of the snowy links. Of course, I here compare only the degree of the impressiveness; the nature of the impression being totally different in the two cases. But dismissing these egotistical details, I will conclude by citing, as some excuse for my own, the sentiments of the sober and matter-of-fact geologist, to whom I own myself so much indebted for the scientific part of the account I have given of these extraordinary scenes. Mr. Bryce thus terminates his geological description of the Causeway: "The mole of the Grand Causeway is indeed a most wonderful object to contemplate; but feelings sublimer far are awakened when we gaze upon the stupendous mural precipices, with their mighty arched colonnades, whose spans are measured by miles; and ponder over the mysterious workings of those great forces of nature, now dormant here, which brought all these wonders into being."

The Causeway Hotel is an excellent house of

comparatively recent erection. It contains upwards of thirty beds, besides the coffee-room and other sitting-rooms. At the period of our visit every bed was occupied; a circumstance which shows how much the grand scenes amid which it is placed, are appreciated; as no other parties but visitors to the Causeway are likely to seek its hospitality; it being entirely out of the ordinary thoroughfares of travelling. The hotel is situated most conveniently for visitors, on the top of the cliff at the bottom of which the boats lie which are used in exploring the coast; and within a furlong of the Causeway itself.

Although there is no village on the spot, there are a sufficient number of scattered tenements in the neighbourhood to authorise the establishment of a school, which is situate almost at the door of the hotel. This school owes its origin and principal support, I believe, to Sir Edward M'Naghten, the largest resident proprietor in the neighbourhood. At the time of my visit there were about 50 children (boys and girls), on the books, with an average attendance of 30. Of the whole number, 7 were Catholics. The master has a salary of 40*l*.

CHAPTER VIII.

BALLYCASTLE — CUSHENDALL — GLENARM — LARNE — CARRICKFERGUS.

The road from the Giant's Causeway to Ballycastle lies through a well-cultivated country, of variegated surface, but destitute of trees. Some of the farms near Bushmills, on the property of Sir Edward M'Naghten, are large, and in excellent order; sufficiently indicative of a foreign administration. Where the road comes within a near distance of the coast, or where it ascends sufficiently high to command a view of it, the sea and shore views are magnificent all along from Bengore to Fairhead, including the beautiful island of Rathlin, about three miles distant from the main shore.

Ballycastle is a neat little town, finely situated on the shore of a small bay of its own name, and near the foot of that beautiful symmetrical green mountain, Knocklade. The population in 1841 was 1697, and in 1851, 1669; showing a decrease of 28 in the ten years. But this is by no means a fair example of the decrease of population in the district generally; the whole barony (Cary) showing the

following changes during the last twenty years: Population in 1831, 23,276; in 1841, 22,605; in 1851, 18,142.

Our anxiety to reach Belfast prevented our staying long enough at Ballycastle to visit any part of the neighbourhood, although a traveller cannot easily be forgiven or forgive himself for neglecting to see the magnificent cliffs of Fairhead, within three or four miles of it. This is the greatest oversight in regard to scenery made by me in Ireland, and one I still regret. I had just time to pay a flying visit to the Union Workhouse, and to make a few inquiries respecting Temperance.

The workhouse is only calculated to receive 600 persons, and there were only 109 in it at the time of my visit. Of this number 53 were children, and were then in the schools. The following is the religious designation of the inmates: Church of England, 31; Presbyterian, 19; Roman Catholics, 59. Among the sick in the hospital there were only two affected with ophthalmia.

The dietary in this house differs somewhat from that of any other yet visited. As at Londonderry, a third meal or supper is here allowed; and, three days in the week, the usual vegetable soup is strengthened with meat to the amount of 2 oz. for each pauper; 8 oz. of bread (of third flour) being allowed at the same time. On the four other days, the food is precisely the same at each of the three meals, viz. 6 oz. of oatmeal (only 5 oz. for supper)

made into stirabout, with one third of a quart of buttermilk, without bread. This is the allowance for adult men.

There are three chaplains attached to the workhouse, each having a salary of 20*l*. The schools are under the direction of the National Board. In September, 1850, they contained 92 boys and 86 girls; in 1851, 37 boys and 31 girls; and at the time of my visit, as already mentioned, only 53 of both sexes. This gradual decrease obviously results from the gradually-diminishing number of inmates in the house in the successive years.

The last poor-rate levied was only 1*s*. in the pound; previously it had varied from 2*s*. 2*d*. to 3*s*. 6*d*.

There is a National School now building in Ballycastle. This would have been established long since, but for the difficulty of obtaining a site for it.

I was informed that the three forms of religion were pretty equally distributed among the inhabitants of Ballycastle, the Roman Catholic being the most predominant. This seems to accord very well with the returns made in 1834, when the population of the whole parish (Ramoan), was given as follows:— English Church, 1718; Presbyterians, 1549; Roman Catholics, 1710. The much greater proportion of Catholics noticed in the poor-house is not inconsistent with this statement; as we have already shown that the predominancy of Catholicism is always among the lower classes, who, of course, supply the poor-house with inmates.

According to the testimony of the parish priest, there are still full 200 Temperance men in Ballycastle, although some years since the number had been much greater.

The carriage-road from Ballycastle on the northern shore to Cushendall on the eastern shore, takes a more direct and shorter course than that which follows the coast. It thus cuts off, as it were, the north-eastern corner of the island, and, with it, a considerable slice of its picturesque and romantic shore. The distance by the shorter road (the only one, by the way, passable for carriages,) from Ballycastle to Cushendall is about twelve miles. The first half of it leads through a wild moorland tract, here and there relieved by small patches of cultivation, but possessing nothing interesting until you reach its highest point, called Carey Mountain, from whence you have a fine view of the most northern part of Ireland (Tor Point), and, in clear weather, of the mountains of Scotland also.

After crossing this mountainous and barren tract, and descending about a mile or more on its eastern brow, we came suddenly upon a scene of a very different kind, the bright and beautiful valley of Glendun, lying deep below us between its two ranges of lofty hills. As we wound our crooked way downwards along the face of its north-western boundary, the glen gradually opened itself out more and more to us, stretching from the sea-village of Cushendun at its outer extremity, till it was lost

far upwards among the mountain ranges more inland. A conspicuous feature in the landscape before us, as we descended, was the magnificent viaduct which spans the glen with three arches at the height of 80 feet above the river. To cross this, the road runs a long way up the valley, and returns as far on the other side, before it strikes off towards Cushendall.

Whencesoever viewed, whether from the heights overlooking it, from the top of the viaduct, or from the mid-hill road on either side, this valley of Glendun cannot fail to strike the traveller as a scene of no common attraction; more especially if, like us, he comes suddenly and unexpectedly upon it, on a fine sunny day, from the barren and dreary wastes of the Cary Mountain. I know not whether it was from this enhancing cause or from its own intrinsic charms that Glendun struck me so forcibly; but certainly I felt interested by it beyond the measure of either its beauty or its grandeur. While looking on its secluding barriers, its quiet green pastures, its white cottages scattered about among the fields, its wooded depths by the river, now hiding, now disclosing the shining water, and, lastly, the partial gleam of the distant sea through the narrow vista of its hills,—I could not help feeling that I saw before me one of those pregnant scenes which so readily inspire the minds of the young with some of the dearest of their waking dreams, making them think and say with the youthful poet:—

"If there's peace to be found in the world,
The heart that is humble might hope for it here."

Turning off at right angles from the line of the glen, through a winding gap in its south-eastern boundary, we once more entered on a wild and barren tract; but this gradually softened down into cultivation as we approached the small town of Cushendall, which lies on the river Dall about a quarter of a mile or less from the sea. Cushendall is beautifully situated amid rocks and hills of the most romantic kind. The river forms a small creek as it opens into the bay, but there is no sufficient inlet to claim the name or perform the office of a harbour.

The population of the town, at the last census, was only 527, being 17 less than at the previous enumeration of 1841. And here, the decrease of population of the whole parish was nearly in the same proportion as that of the town; the falling off in the former in the same ten years being only 361, viz. from 4218 to 3857.

I was somewhat surprised to find this small town, in the midst of Antrim, so very Catholic. I was told that out of the whole population there were not more than 20 or 30 Protestant families. This statement seemed corroborated by the fact that the only National School of the place had a Catholic patron, and a Catholic master and mistress, and contained at the time of my visit only one Protestant. There is, however, a Protestant school in the village, but it was attended only by about 15

or 20 children. This Catholic character of Cushendall, given to me by the inhabitants, is fully borne out by the only authentic enumeration we possess, viz. that of 1834. Taking in the whole parish of Layde, in which the town is situated, the proportions of the three religions in that year were as follows:—English Churchmen, 500; Presbyterians, 50; Roman Catholics, 3394.

The National School, at the time of my visit, had on the books 119 boys and 94 girls, the average attendance being respectively, 67 and 42. In September 1850, this school had on the books 77 girls and 106 boys; and in September 1851, 28 girls and 110 boys. The master had taught in the school three years, and had a salary of 24*l*. The mistress had been in the school four years.

The information I received as to the state of Temperance in this village was very satisfactory. Intemperance is scarcely known, and there are from thirty to forty families who are professed Teetotallers. The parish priest is one of the number.

Immediately on leaving Cushendall, we entered upon that famous road, lauded by all travellers, which runs from hence to Larne, a distance of twenty Irish miles, close upon the sea-beach, and at the base of some of the most magnificent cliffs in the world. This road was constructed about twenty years since, by that admirable department to which Ireland is so much indebted, the Board of Public Works, as was

also the excellent road we had travelled from Ballycastle hitherward. I have already had occasion to remark on the singular excellence of the roads generally in Ireland; but here they have reached their culminating point, whether we regard the engineering difficulties surmounted, the greatness of the pecuniary outlay in overcoming them, or the admirable result. By opening up this new path, the Board has not only substituted, for purposes of traffic, a smooth solid road, almost as level as a railway, for one of the most impracticable mountain tracts in the island, but has, at the same time, laid open to the traveller scenes of such magnificence and beauty, as would almost of themselves have justified the expense of formation.

Travelling the road, as we did, in the finest weather, with the sea almost as tranquil and blue as the sky above it, and with the advantage of contemplating the various scenes both in their morning and evening aspects, the charm seemed sufficient to authorise and justify a journey having no other object than simply to travel over it. How much more justifiable then—or rather how much more irresistibly attractive—must such a road be, when we know that it is to be regarded only as ushering the traveller to the greater things beyond—to Glendun—to Fairhead—to Pleaskin and the Giant's Causeway! Whatever other attractive scenery Ireland may possess, I think there is no spot in the island that combines such attractions for the hur-

ried holiday-maker of London as this very road, and what it leads to. And the journey is so easily accomplished: rail to Liverpool—steam to Belfast or Carrickfergus—car to Larne, Glenarm, Cushendall, Fairhead, Giant's Causeway, Portrush, and Coleraine—coach to Ballymena—sail to Belfast—and back again to London within the eight days! What clerk, what shopkeeper, what busy doctor, lawyer, or curate, but could command so short a space of time as this, to pick up a stock of health and delight to last him for months?

In comparing the locality of the road with the cliffy coasts already noticed, it is easy to see how its formation became possible. In the range of Bengore and of the Giant's Causeway itself, the vertical cliffs are washed at their base by the deep sea, precluding all possibility of forming a road, unless quarried out of the solid face of the rock. Along this coast, however, partly owing to the greater shallowness of the water, the continuous fall of rocky fragments from the cliff has at length formed a sort of natural breakwater, damming back the sea. Taking advantage of this foundation, the engineer, by filling up hollows, cutting off projecting spurs of rock, and paring away the overhanging cliff where threatening danger, has been enabled to build his road in the most perfect and efficient manner; guarding the traveller by balustrades, sometimes on one side, sometimes on both, against

all risks from land or sea—from active rocks on the one hand and from passive immersion on the other.

The whole range of cliff along this lengthened space, may be characterised as similar to that already described near the Giant's Causeway, but on a somewhat smaller scale. It continues, however, almost everywhere, to be both grand and picturesque. Still, even when grandest, it has a more subdued and softer aspect than the stern headlands of Bengore. The cliffs in retiring, as it were, from the water, seem to have lost something of their sea-sharpness as well as of their barrenness; their bearing has become less upright, their brows less bold, their angles blunter; and their peaks are not merely rounded into smoothness, but are covered with verdure a short way down: in becoming more inland they have assumed more of the character of inland hills.

Their geological structure is, however, precisely the same as that formerly given, with the exceptions—that here the strata are not always so rigidly defined; that the basalt is less perfectly columnar; and the beds of indurated chalk come oftener into view. In many parts of the section, indeed, the chalk beds constitute so large a portion of the strata, as to give the cliffs a general white character; while in others they are thickly intermingled with the amygdaloid and trap. As we had already seen on the coast between the Causeway and Portrush, the indurated chalk beds are here also extensively quarried as lime, and supply a considerable

portion of the export trade of the district. As we approach towards Glenarm the cliffs become less bold, and a few gentlemen's seats are seen on the more inland slopes.

Just before the shore has lost any of its boldness, close to Garron Point, the Marquis of Londonderry has recently erected a handsome lodge on the very brow of the cliff; a delightful situation for a summer residence, and commanding most magnificent sea and land views. A short distance from the lodge, on the road-side beneath, a small portion of one of the more prominent of the chalk rocks (the cliff is here entirely composed of stone-chalk), has been smoothed and polished, and, on its vertical face looking towards the sea, now presents to all passers-by an inscription in handsome black letters.

On a former occasion I quoted an inscription taken from the walls of a Catholic Church in the south, as a specimen of the hedge-schoolmaster style, once said to be prevalent in Ireland. I give the present as a proof, that if this style has deserted the hedges, it has found refuge in higher places. Whoever may have been the author of it (I entirely acquit of the heavy charge the illustrious lady whose name it bears) it is fortunate for his literary reputation and taste that the "imperishable memorial" has been framed out of no more durable materials than chalk, and that it has been placed in no more conservative a locality than on the wild sea-

shore, open and exposed to all the skiey influences. Here is the inscription, faithfully transcribed, but shorn somewhat of its artistic beauty by the continuity of line given to it in our typography:

"FRANCES ANNE VANE, MARCHIONESS OF LONDONDERRY, being connected with this Province by the double ties of birth and marriage, and being desirous to hand down to posterity an imperishable Memorial of Ireland's affliction and England's generosity in the year 1846-7, unparalleled in the annals of human suffering, hath engraved this stone.

"Fair tablet, fashioned by the Almighty's hand,
To guard these confines of the sea and land,
No longer shalt thou meet the stranger's sight,
A polished surface of unmeaning white;
But bid him ponder on the days of yore
When plague and famine stalked along the shore,
And pale IERNE veiled her drooping head,
Like Rachel weeping for her children dead:
Tell him that to assuage those pangs and fears,
Britannia gave her bounty with her tears:
And bear this record, though in phrases rude,
Of England's love and Ireland's gratitude."

We stopped for the night at Glenarm, a small town built on the shores of a bay of the same name, or rather within the mouth of the glen which opens on the bay. The hills on either side are lofty and precipitous, and the valley or glen through which a small river runs, is one of the most secluded and sheltered that can well be imagined. The whole of the level part of it, indeed, is occupied by Lord Antrim's demesne or park, which extends to

a considerable distance around Glenarm Castle, his handsome residence. As so often stated of other parks seen by us in Ireland, Glenarm is sadly overcrowded with wood, though it must be admitted that the trees are here of magnificent size.

The town of Glenarm, which is very neat and clean, consists mainly of one street running parallel to the river. Its population in 1841 was 881, and had grown to 951 in 1851. The population of the whole parish was as follows during the three last decennial periods, viz. in 1831, 3859; in 1841, 4443; and in 1851, 3903; being a decrease of 540 during the last ten years. In the year 1834 the ecclesiastical distribution of the population of the parish was as follows:—Established Churchmen, 499; Presbyterians, 1622; Roman Catholics, 1930; a distribution which, like those that precede, still shows the Roman Catholic element strong even in Protestant Antrim.

The fine entrance gate to Lord Antrim's castle is in one of the streets, and the castle itself is very near. It is, I believe, very ancient, but has been modernised, and is now converted into a handsome square modern structure of the Tudor style, with a turret at each of its angles.

Its little bay gives to Glenarm a very cheerful as well as a busy aspect: at the time of our visit several vessels were at anchor in it, and others loading with chalk-lime at its small pier. The place seemed generally busy, and some of the

tradespeople told me that employment had not been so good for four years. Glenarm is frequented as a watering place in summer; and a charming abode it must be during the fine season: the funnel-like mouth of the glen looks too directly north to make it so desirable a residence in the winter.

The pleasure of a portion of our journey, after leaving Cushendall, was sadly disturbed for a time, by the recurrence of an annoyance complained of in a former page, and which, I think, was almost the only kind of annoyance we encountered in Ireland: this was, the presence in our car of an exhausted and broken-down horse. It was shocking to see the abortive efforts made by the poor beast, when stimulated by the driver's whip, the exercise of which we had the greatest difficulty to control. Fortunately, we encountered on the road another car, returning empty from a short fare, and with a fresh horse, and were thus enabled to complete our journey without further disturbance.

We left Glenarm early in the morning, and had again the luxury of travelling over the remaining ten miles of our glorious sea-terrace road, under the bluest of skies and in the brightest sunshine. The grand cliffs continued through the greater part of our journey, but now and then gave place to green sloping hills, as if to enhance the prospect by the charm of variety. About seven miles from Glenarm one of the boldest and loftiest of the cliffs, named Ballygawly Head, runs right into the sea, so

that the road is tunnelled through it. The basalt here is perfectly columnar in the face of the rock, and the columns of great length. On a rock in the sea, near the Head, are the ruins of an old castle, named Cairn Castle, and near the beach, in the centre of the little bay, there is a curious old building, something like a castle also, but of humbler pretensions.

With Larne terminated the magnificent road of which I have said so much, and on which we had travelled uninterruptedly from Ballycastle, a distance of thirty-two Irish miles. With the bridges, which are numerous, the viaduct of Glendun, and the other necessary engineering work, it is understood to have cost 37,000*l.*, a wonderfully small expenditure, when we consider the greatness of the work and the advantages resulting from it to the country. It is in contemplation to continue the coast road, on the same plan from Larne to Carrickfergus, an addition of eleven miles; the road between these towns, at present, leading by a somewhat shorter but much more difficult route across the hills.

Larne is a town of more importance than any seen since leaving Coleraine. Its population in 1841 was 3345, and in 1851, 3076. It is finely situated at the head of the noble inlet of the sea called Lough Larne, and commands beautiful views of this lough and the lofty ranges of hills enclosing it on either

side. Lough Larne is five miles long and a mile and a half wide at its widest part. It forms a broad expanse as seen from the town, but in its main breadth, where it turns to the south-east inside the peninsula called Island-Magee, it is narrower and more river-like. It is very shallow at the town, and becomes dry at low water, to a great extent, so that no vessel can approach within a considerable distance: the pier is a long way down the lough.

The town has an old and a new portion; the former consisting of small houses and very irregular streets, the latter consisting mainly of one large and rather handsome street, with numerous good houses in it. The population of the town seems to vary less from the ordinary religious distribution of the county than any place lately visited. It would appear from the accommodation provided for worship, that the Presbyterian element constitutes by much the largest item in the classification. Thus, while there is only one English and one Roman Catholic Church, there are three Presbyterian Churches, besides a meeting-house for Methodists. This state of ecclesiastical distribution is of long standing in the place, as is shown by the official returns of the two parishes in which Larne is situated, in the year 1834: viz. Presbyterians, 3084; other Protestant Dissenters, 79; Roman Catholics, 743; English Churchmen, 323.

Larne contains numerous schools patronised or

supported by the different religious sects, as well as National Schools. There is a parochial Protestant school for girls and boys in connection with the Church Education Society, which, at the date of the last report, had 198 children on the roll, and an average attendance of 75.

I visited the three principal National Schools. The boys' school comprises an agricultural school also, there being seven acres of land attached to it, on which the older boys work. At the time of my visit, there were 124 names on the roll, and an average attendance of about 70. The school was nearly equally divided between Catholics and Protestants; Presbyterians constituting the great mass on the Protestant side—there being, in fact, only six boys belonging to the Church of England. There seem, however, to be no sectarian prejudices in the case: as the patron or manager of the school is the incumbent of the English Church; the members of the committee are Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Methodists; and the master a Roman Catholic. A simple plan is adopted to prevent the Catholic pupils being annoyed by any religious instruction in their presence, namely, by making this the first business of the day, so that the Catholics may avoid joining in it by being simply *late*. The extracts from the Scriptures and the Scriptures themselves are thus read daily; and the master says he explains to all the pupils who choose to attend, the essential principles of Christianity common to all sects. The

four agricultural scholars board with the master; the National Board paying him 7*l.* 10*s.* for each.

In the girls' school there were 92 on the roll, and an average attendance of 43. About one third of the number were Catholics. As in the boys' school, all who are present when religious instruction is given, read the Scriptures and are questioned thereon, the Catholics occasionally taking their part with the others. The mistress is a member of the Church of England. Payment of one halfpenny per week is exacted, and all the children, except one or two, pay it.

In the infant school (which occupies a part of the same building), there were 84 boys and 93 girls on the books; and all who were present were neatly and cleanly dressed. About one third were Catholics; a small number belonged to the English Church; but the great majority were Presbyterians. The mistress is a Presbyterian. They all pay their halfpenny per week with great punctuality.

In the official reports of these schools for the years 1850 and 1851, I find the rolls give the following numbers: In 1850—boys, 167; girls, 97; infants, 227: in 1851—boys, 131; girls, 79; infants, 180.

The Union Workhouse at Larne is, like all the rest of its class, a fine and commodious building. It was opened in the year 1843, and was originally planned to contain 500; the hospital rooms included. In the bad years, additional accommodation was re-

quired to be provided, and the house can now contain 800. In 1846-7, there were from 800 to 900 in the house; and in April, 1848, the official returns give 567 as the number then accommodated. Last year (1851) the number varied from 300 to 400; and this year they have been still further diminished —the number on the books at the time of my visit being only 240. The dietary was here, as at Londonderry and Ballycastle, somewhat more liberal than I had found in any house out of Ulster. The adults had, as in the places mentioned, a third meal (supper), consisting of two pints of stirabout—the breakfast allowance being three. As at Ballycastle, they had also a small portion of meat in their soup three days out of the seven. The bread was made of flour and Indian meal, and was sound and good. As usual, the house was unexceptionably clean and most orderly. In the schools there were 44 boys and 33 girls: among the former eight, and among the latter three, were Catholics. No distinction was made in the education or religious instruction of the children. There are three chaplains; one for each sect. The master is a Presbyterian.

The Total Abstinence system has been resuscitated with great effect this year in Larne, under the sanction and patronage of the clergy; all the ministers, of whatever denomination, having themselves professed Teetotalism. They have already enrolled 500 members.

The road from Larne to Belfast, about nine Irish miles, forsakes the shore, as already mentioned, and crosses the country, keeping the inland branch of Lough Larne and the peninsula of Magee on the left hand. The country is somewhat hilly, but well cultivated, and as much like England as any part of Ireland yet seen. It has not only small woods here and there and fields of good size, but has actually quickset hedges and even trees in many of them. Near Carrickfergus there are several gentlemen's seats, with well-wooded but not over-wooded parks. The whole district seems well peopled.

We joined the railway at Carrickfergus, and soon ran up to Belfast, close along the northern shore of its magnificent Lough—as it is called, though, in fact, it is a broad inlet of the sea. We took up our quarters at the Imperial Hotel, which, both in extent and in excellence of accommodation rivals its Dublin namesake.

CHAPTER IX.

BELFAST—ANTRIM—ARMAGH.

We reached Belfast sufficiently early to see a considerable portion of the town before dinner; and in the evening we had the pleasure of attending one of the public sittings of the British Association, then holding its meetings in Belfast under the presidency of Colonel Sabine. The evening's lecture, which was given by Professor Stokes, of Cambridge, was on certain new phenomena of light; and besides its own peculiar excellence, had the peculiarity of being delivered in a Presbyterian church. I am far from objecting to such an appropriation of the sacred place, but I dare say others as well as myself, felt it as somewhat odd to be listening to the exposition of the most abstruse science, and looking at coloured diagrams, from a pew.

On the following day we had the pleasure of paying our flying visits to several of the Sections, the attendances on which were happily so timed as to enable strangers to see the town-sights both before and after the scientific business.

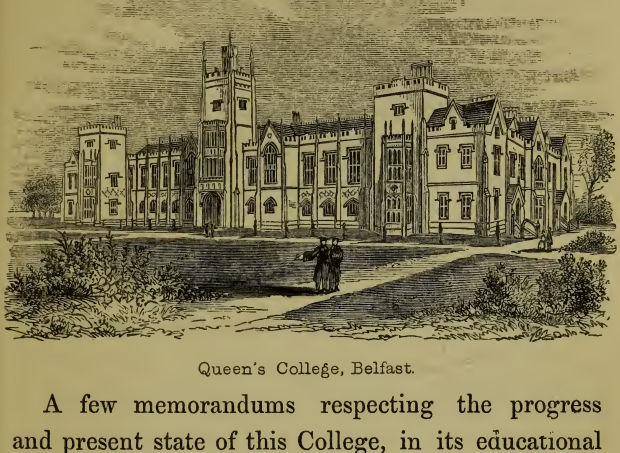
It is not my intention to give any minute account

of the town of Belfast, and for the same reasons that led me to notice so slightly the other great cities of Ireland, Dublin and Cork. These places are sufficiently well known already: and they are moreover much too vast to be described in a work like this. A few detached memorandums must comprise all I have to say of this great and thriving city.

Belfast exhibits more and more-marked indications of activity and improvement than either Dublin or Cork. Its magnificent harbour is full of ships, and its numerous factories, full of hands, are vomiting perennial smoke. In public buildings it is much inferior to Dublin, but it has many fine houses; and some of its civic structures—as, for instance, its Banks, are truly superb both within and without. A few of its streets also may match with the best in Dublin.

The new Queen's College is a splendid building, and of an elegant design, though it has the great disadvantage, when compared with the Colleges of Cork and Galway, of being constructed mainly of brick. Like the other Colleges, however, it is no less creditable to the taste of the architect (Mr. Charles Lanyon), than to the liberality of the Government, and the public spirit of the Board of Works. For an institution of so recent origin, it is surprising to see how well its libraries and museums are already filled. It was in this College that all the Sectional Meetings of the British Association were held; and it would be impossible to

find ampler and better accommodation than was afforded by its excellent and spacious lecture-rooms.



Queen's College, Belfast.

A few memorandums respecting the progress and present state of this College, in its educational aspect, are subjoined:

1. The following Table shows the total number of students who have attended the College since its opening; and also the new entries in each Session:

Session.	1849-50	1850-51	1851-52	1852-53
Matriculated.	90	110	120	98
Non-Matriculated	105	75	69	50
In Attendance	195	185	189	148
Entered, but did not attend . .	—	1	3	4
	195	186	192	152
New Entries each Session.				
Matriculated	89	60	46	31
Non-Matriculated . . .	106	41	41	22
	195	101	87	53

2. The following Table exhibits the religious denominations of all the Students that have as yet attended the College. The list is in itself a curiosity, and finely illustrates the free spirit of Protestantism on which Ulster has always prided itself. Some of the designations will also remind us of the share Scotland took in the Plantation scheme, and of the known tenacity of her children to hold by their old land-marks.

	1849-50	1850-51	1851-52	1852-53	Total.
Established Church . .	33	33	40	32	138
General Assembly[1] . .	111	109	105	83	408
Non-Subscribers[2] . .	24	21	18	10	73
Roman Catholics . .	5	10	14	15	44
Wesleyan Methodists .	4	4	5	4	17
Covenanters . . .	7	6	6	1	20
Seceders	3	—	—	1	4
Independents . . .	1	1	—	—	2
Baptists	1	—	1	2	4
Religious denominations not declared . .	6	1	—	—	7
	195	185	189	148	717

3. Though these Tables show a progressive and considerable annual diminution in the number of Students entering the College, it is by no means to be inferred that the Institution is really falling off either in attractiveness or utility. Such a result is almost necessarily incidental to an educational

[1] Orthodox Presbyterians.

[2] Non-Subscribers to the Westminster Confession, and Unitarians.

establishment of recent origin. The novelty and attractiveness of the scheme would, in the first instance, bring into its halls numbers of young men from all parts of the Province, who may have been prepared, and waiting, as it were, for such an opening for the completion of their studies. This casual source exhausted, the College has since had to look for recruits solely from the regular annual crops from the superior provincial schools, which are at present much too scanty in numbers, and too low in quality; an evil likely, however, to be gradually removed in both its aspects. A third cause of the decreased numbers, is probably the necessary decrease of scholarships at present available for new comers. This decrease, however, will speedily remedy itself as the scholarships are gradually vacated by lapse of time. In this College, as in the other two, the scholarships are numerous, and, of course, perpetual.

Adjoining Queen's College is the Belfast Botanic Garden, a very valuable institution, and a charming spot in every way. The grounds are extensive and in excellent order, and its plants numerous and well kept.

The Belfast Museum is also an institution most creditable to the town; its department of national antiquities is rich in the most interesting relics of Old Ireland.

The Public Library contains an excellent collection of books, and is in good order.

On the whole, it may be truly said, that while

the men of Belfast avow themselves to be devoted to commerce and the industrial arts, they are far from neglecting the Arts and Sciences more strictly so called. Mental activity is evidently the characteristic of the population; and where this prevails, it cannot be confined within the limits of the merely necessary.

Perhaps the flourishing condition of Belfast is most strikingly evinced by its increased and increasing population, at a time when the population of Ireland generally, and of so many of its best towns, has so greatly fallen off. During the last thirty years, the population of the town has more than doubled; and it appears to be progressively increasing. The following are the numbers of its inhabitants according to the two last censuses: 78,144 in 1841; 90,526 in 1851.

It will not be expected that any account of the scientific proceedings of the great and successful meeting of the British Association at Belfast, should appear in these humble pages. There were, however, a few papers brought before the Statistical Section which might very appropriately occupy a place among Memorandums made in Ireland, if their expected early publication in a separate form, did not render this in a great measure superfluous.

One of these papers, by Mr. Holden, "On the Progress of the Sewed Muslin Manufacture in Ire-

land," I have briefly referred to in another page; and I will here call attention to another, viz. that by Mr. J. Locke, on a subject of still more general interest and importance. This paper, entitled "Excessive Emigration and its reparative agencies in Ireland," entered largely into these great questions; and the subject was still further elucidated by the comments of several other statisticians present. Mr. Locke thought the reparative agencies to meet the case of Ireland were to be found—1, in the now progressive habits of the people; 2, in having well-defined measures of landlord and tenant; 3, in improving the condition of the labouring classes, including the small farmers. The first was manifested in the decrease of crime; for the second, reliance might be placed in Mr. Napier; and the new landlords of Ireland, through the operation of the Encumbered Estates Court, would, no doubt, do much to effect the last object. He referred at great length to tables constructed out of the records of the Encumbered Estates Court, to show the working of it in Ireland.[1]

Not having access to Mr. Locke's Tables, I avail myself of those published by Mr. Alnutt, of Dublin, equally authentic, in order that I may lay before the reader some of the principal facts relating to measures which cannot fail to be of the greatest possible consequence to the future condition of Ire-

[1] 'Athenæum' Abstract.

land. I give these facts in the condensed form in which they appear in Mr. Alnutt's publication,[1] and without comment: they speak for themselves, positively, as to the past and present; and I think I may add that they speak of the future also "with most miraculous organ:"

1. *General Summary of Sales in the Encumbered Estates Court.*

1.—Estates or part of Estates Sold in Court	526			
„ Provincial Auction	166	779		
„ Private Contract	87			
2.—Number of Lots Sold in Court	2762			
„ Provincial Auction	722	3950		
„ Private Contract	466			
		£	*s.*	*d.*
3.—Amount of the estimated Rental of the Land comprised in the petitions for sale presented up to the 31st of July, 1852, inclusive		1,342,347	10	8
4.—Amount of the Estimated Mortgages, Judgments, Arrears of Annuities, and other securities affecting those Estates, as stated in the schedules attached to the petitions, to the 31st of July, 1852, inclusive		30,419,181	8	7
5.—Total Amount distributed, including the sum of £538,207 5*s.* 11½*d.* allowed to purchasers who were incumbrancers, to the 21st of August, 1852		4,229,409	10	3
6.—Gross amount of Rentals, viz.	£ *s.* *d.*			
Sold in Court	383,903 7 0			
„ Provincial Auction	81,152 8 0	520,055	15	0
„ Private Cont. (about)	55,000 0 0			

[1] Alnutt's Summary of Proceedings, &c. from Oct. 21, 1849, to July 31, 1852.

7.—Head, Quit, Crown, Chief Rents, and Tithe-rent Charges, subject to which the Estates were sold:—	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Sold in Court	57,722	9	6	76,547	5	7
„ Provincial Auction .	13,824	16	1			
„ Private Cont. (about)	5000	0	0			
8.—Net annual amount of Rentals, viz.						
Sold in Court	326,180	17	6	443,508	9	5
„ Provincial Auction .	67,327	11	11			
„ Private Cont. (about)	50,000	0	0			
	a.	*r.*	*p.*	*a.*	*r.*	*p.*
9.—Number of Acres Sold in Court	780,518	0	5	1,293,573	2	23
Provincial Auction	139,455	2	18			
Private Contract .	373,600	0	0			

Note.—It will be perceived that the Nett Rental of Estates sold amounted to 443,508*l.* 9*s.* 5*d.*, consequently, it would appear that the Estates brought 16¼ years' purchase; but the nett annual rental or value of Estates exceed the amount here stated, as in some instances the Estates were in the hands of owners or partly unlet; and when the valuations were not stated in the Rentals, it was impossible to include them.

II. *Produce of Sales in each County and Province.*

A

PRODUCE OF SALES IN EACH COUNTY.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Antrim . .	421,160	9	4	Brought up	4,345,812	0	0
Armagh . .	65,042	0	0	Londonderry .	7015	0	0
Carlow . .	32,141	0	0	Longford . .	85,490	0	0
Cavan . .	134,056	9	4	Louth . .	82,020	0	0
Clare . .	121,800	0	0	Mayo . .	296,939	5	0
Cork . .	872,031	13	10	Meath . .	427,396	13	10
Donegal . .	41,855	0	0	Monaghan .	72,677	5	0
Down . .	156,127	13	8	Queen's . .	258,431	7	11
Dublin . .	284,899	11	10	Roscommon .	195,452	12	0
Fermanagh .	131,830	8	4	Sligo . .	33,000	0	0
Galway . .	920,335	11	8	Tipperary .	461,148	11	8
Kerry . .	223,891	0	0	Tyrone . .	231,707	4	4
Kildare . .	62,495	0	0	Waterford .	243,867	1	4
Kilkenny . .	194,286	12	0	Westmeath .	225,559	0	0
King's . .	68,023	0	0	Wexford . .	168,070	0	0
Leitrim . .	45,325	0	0	Wicklow . .	80,497	9	0
Limerick . .	570,511	10	0				
Carried up	£4,345,812	0	0	Total .	£7,215,083	10	1

B

PRODUCE OF SALES IN EACH PROVINCE.

	£	s.	d.
Leinster	1,969,309	14	7
Munster	2,493,249	16	10
Ulster	1,261,471	10	0
Connaught	1,491,052	8	8
Total	£7,215,083	10	1

C

WHERE SOLD.

	£	s.	d.
In Court	4,705,907	10	0
Provincial Sales	1,573,858	0	0
Private Sales	935,318	0	1
Total	£7,215,083	10	1

III. *Classification of the Number of Purchasers according to the Amounts.*

£1000 and under.	£1000 to £2000	£2000 to £5000	£5000 to £10,000	£10,000 to £20,000	£20,000 and upwards.	Total.
1040	447	549	314	83	22	2455

IV. *Acreage and Amount of Purchase Money by English and Scotch Parties in each Province.*

No. of Estates purchased by English and Scotch.	No. of Purchasers.	Province.	Acreage.			Purchase-money.		
			a.	*r.*	*p.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
24	25	Leinster	31,012	0	34	222,385	0	0
38	47	Munster	54,342	0	9	362,399	12	6
8	7	Ulster	7,385	0	2	55,922	0	0
25	35	Connaught	310,326	2	9	459,420	0	0
95	114	Total	403,065	3	14	1,100,126	12	6

v. *Classification of English and Scotch Purchasers according to the Amounts.*

£1000 and under.	£1000 to £2000	£2000 to £5000	£5000 to £10,000	£10,000 to £20,000	£20,000 and upwards.	Total.
24	18	26	21	13	12	114

vi. *Classification of English and Scotch Purchasers (as well as can be ascertained).*

Gentry, including Eight Titled Persons.	Manufacturers and Merchants, including Eight Firms.	Insurance and Land Companies.	Farmers.	Total.
52	36	6	20	114

It will be seen from the foregoing Tables, that the purchases made by foreigners (English and Scotch), were very few in number compared with those made by Irishmen; there being only 114 of the former class to 2341 of the latter: and it was stated in Mr. Locke's paper, that of the seven millions paid as purchase money, six came out of native pockets.

To those who look only to extraneous aid for the regeneration of Ireland, this statement will seem an unfavorable augury; but it is a monstrous proposition to maintain that the Irish people cannot work out their own advancement as other nations, provided they have the same chance, and the same fair field as they. And it surely speaks well for Ireland, not only that her sons thus unequivocally show their faith in her fortunes, but prove, moreover, that they

possess the material means that are nowadays found necessary for the successful progress of states.

I made two excursions from Belfast, one to visit the ancient druidical monument, called the Giant's Ring, the other to see Lough Neagh and Antrim.

The Giant's Ring is about four Irish miles from Belfast, and lies in the course of the river Logan. It consists simply of a huge green circular mound, with a broken cromlech within it. It is of great size, the circle being 200 paces, or nearly 600 feet in diameter, and the mound probably 30 or 40 feet high, and double that extent in thickness at its base. It is richly verdant, and has altogether a beautiful and romantic aspect, being situated on a gentle sloping hill of no great height. The upper or flat stone of the cromlech is thrown from off its level, but it is still supported by ten upright stones.

The town of Antrim lies about 13 Irish miles to the north-east of Belfast, but by the railway it is nearly one third more, as a large circuit is made towards Carrickfergus. The country traversed by the railway is all fertile and well cultivated, with much of that look of England noticed between Larne and Carrickfergus. I went on as far as the small town of Randalstown, about four miles beyond Antrim, in order to have a better view of Lough Neagh, the principal object of my journey. Randalstown is a small country town, with a population in 1841 of 588; and in 1851 of 749. It

is one of the old Irish boroughs, but looks as if it had been built the other day. And, indeed, this is nearly true, since it has been almost renovated of late years by its patron and proprietor, Lord O'Neill, whose beautiful demesne of Shane's Castle borders the town.

By walking about a couple of miles to the high grounds beyond the town, I obtained a full view of the lake; and different views were afterwards obtained from its own shores at Shane's Castle, and nearer the town of Antrim: but I must confess that all I saw of Lough Neagh disappointed me. It has the fatal demerit of being surrounded by shores almost as flat and level as itself, so that whencesoever you look upon it, you have little else presented to you but a sea-like expanse of water, bounded, near you, by dull featureless banks, and closed in at a short distance by a mere linear horizon. Had it bold shores to overlook it, or neighbouring mountains to relieve its tameness, its vast extent would give it all the grandeur which can attach to an inland sea; it being no less than fifteen or sixteen Irish miles long, and nearly half as broad, and covering an area, it is said, of nearly 100,000 acres.

Lough Neagh is said to be nearly as large as the lake of Geneva, and is only exceeded in Europe, by that lake, and by the lakes of Lodoga in Russia and Vener in Sweden. Unluckily for the legend made so charming a use of by Moore, in one of

his melodies, it is almost the only lake in Ireland from whose "banks" the fishermen could *not* see "the round towers of other days in the wave beneath him shining," even if they were there. But I presume, for "banks" we ought to read "boat," in prose.

The demesne or Park of Lord O'Neill, is beautifully situated on both sides of the river Main, and extends full two miles from north to south, that is, from Randalstown to the northern shore of the Lough; and the same distance from east to west, along the shore towards Antrim. It is, however, obnoxious to the charge, so often made in these pages, against the demesnes of the aristocracy of Ireland, of being rather a forest than a park: you literally cannot see the park for trees.

Shane's Castle, a splendid old building situated on the very edge of the Lough, was destroyed by fire in 1816, and is now a mere fragmentary mass, the proprietor having since resided in a small lodge near the old stables. The imposing character of the old castle must have wonderfully improved the views on this part of the shore; and I dare say from its lofty battlements the lake itself must have assumed a grandeur which it never can present without some such artificial aid.

Adjoining the grounds of Shane's Castle, is the demesne of Lord Massarene, with its spacious mansion, called Antrim Castle, lying close to the town of the same name. This castle has the misfortune

to be built on a perfect flat, and though so near it, has no view of Lough Neagh, owing to the intervention of trees—these false idols of Irish lords and lairds. The house has a very plain exterior, but can boast of splendid rooms beautifully furnished, and of grounds charmingly laid out in the artificial or French style.

The town of Antrim is a neat-enough small place, consisting principally of two straggling streets stretching along the roads that intersect it. Including its suburb, Massarene, it had a population of 2645 in 1841, and of 2323 in 1851.

There are four churches in the town, one for each of the four denominations into which the county is chiefly divided—English, Catholic, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan. In 1834, the inhabitants of the whole parish were divided as follows, and probably the same proportional division would still hold good:—English Churchmen, 750; Presbyterians, 3421; other Protestant Dissenters, 120; Roman Catholics, 1252.

Teetotalism, though much fallen off, still holds fair ground here, there being about one hundred professors still remaining in the town.

The country around Antrim is richly cultivated. About a mile out of town, at a place called Steeple, there is a Round Tower in the grounds belonging to the house of a private country gentleman, in a state of perfect preservation. It is 95 feet high, and

about 53 feet in circumference near its base. Its door is about 12 or 14 feet from the ground, and has an imperfect figure of a cross sculptured above it. The top of this tower, like that at Monasterboice, was shattered by lightning, and like that at Devenish, has been since restored to its original form. One of its sides is covered, nearly to the top, by ivy.

It is the only tower seen by us in Ireland, that is not attached to ruins of some kind, commonly the ruins of ecclesiastical buildings. This stands in the midst of Mr. Clarke's shrubbery, and there are no indications of any ancient buildings near it. The former presence of a church, or at least of a burial-ground, on the spot is, however, conjectured from the fact told us by Mr. Clarke's gardener, that human bones in considerable quantity are often dug up close to it.

There is a fine workhouse here, beautifully situated on high ground a little way out of the town.

It was built in 1843, and was originally calculated to hold 845 inmates, but has been since enlarged, so as to contain 1100. At the time of my visit, there were only 228 persons in the house, all those able to work being now employed on the harvest. But during the whole of the year, the number in the house has been small. Before harvest began, in June, there were only 299 inmates. During the last four years there have never been above 400 in the house. According to the official report, there were on the books in April 1848, 807. The proportion of persons professing the two religions, is usually about two thirds Protestants, and one third Catholics. The number of children at present in the school is about 45 of each sex.

Like the other workhouses in this county, the dietary is here somewhat better than in the other parts of Ireland visited by me; the inmates of all classes having three meals, and a small portion of meat in their vegetable soup three days in the week. The bread in ordinary use is made entirely of flour; the stirabout is sometimes made of Indian meal and sometimes of oatmeal; the supper always consisting of stirabout made of Indian meal, and the breakfast of oatmeal.

In and around Antrim and Randalstown, I found, as indeed everywhere in this county, the opinions very strong respecting Tenant-right; and as these views were explained to me, I seldom found them unreasonable, as in the following case of a small

farmer near Randalstown. This man was a Catholic, seventy years of age, and succeeded his father in his farm many years since; his father having occupied it all his lifetime. Neither of them ever had any lease. All the houses now on the farm had been erected by his father or himself, and were in tolerable order. The extent of his farm was thirty-five acres, and his rent was moderate (I forget the exact amount). A good many years since, the present occupier had added to his father's farm another holding adjoining, and had paid the outgoing tenant 50*l.* for his improvements. He is a tenant of Lord O'Neil, an excellent landlord, and has no fear of being turned out while Lord O'Neil lives; but as Lord O'Neil is a very old man, he is fearful of losing his farm at his death. He is therefore desirous of obtaining a lease to enable him to work out of his farm the value of his improvements and outlay, or to be secured some compensation in the event of losing it. He considered that he and his father had sunk 350*l.* on the farm.

Near this good man's farm I visited a much smaller tenement—of seven acres—and found everything in and about it indicative of poverty and misery, and affording a striking illustration of the evils that must often follow in the train of Emigration. The tenant had recently gone to America, leaving his wife and four children nothing to live on but the crop of potatoes in the ground. He had sold the cow to supply the means of emigration.

His departure was too recent for his family to have received any money from him, or, indeed, any account of him. Fortunately for the poor family, the potatoes, though injured, were better in this neighbourhood than they had been for some years previously.

Throughout the county of Antrim, and, indeed, I may say throughout Ireland, I found the subject of tenant-right, or perhaps I should here only say the subject of leases, as strongly advocated, on political as on social grounds. The no-lease system is regarded as necessarily depriving tenants of every shade of independence, the fear of ejection from their farms binding them all as surely to follow the dictation of their landlords in giving their votes at elections, as if they were legally compelled to do so. In the rare instances in which tenants have been found to go against their landlords at the poll, they have seldom found any safety in their landlords' magnanimity. I think it was also very generally believed, by the more intelligent, that even the granting of leases would be insufficient guaranty for the independence of the voters, without the additional security of the ballot,—on the same grounds, I suppose, as were enunciated in the apophthegm of my honest mason of Limerick—"that a sally landlord will break an oaken tenant."

On Monday morning we left Belfast for Armagh, and took advantage of the railway the whole dis-

tance, being desirous of reaching Newry and Rostrevor the same day. The country between Belfast and Armagh (a distance of thirty-one Irish miles), is well cultivated and rich, with frequent enclosures of quick, and patches of wood here and there—all in the English style.

Armagh is remarkable, in a historical point of view, as the birth-place, nursery, residence, or final resting-place of many great men; and as the theatre on which not a few great actions have been performed. It claims the honour of having been founded (in the year 445) by Saint Patrick himself, and to have been constituted by him the great Primatial See and Metropolis of Ireland. He is said to have built its first Cathedral, and to have himself been its first Archbishop; and also to have established in it the College which afterwards became famous throughout Europe; besides Abbeys and Convents, which continued long to illustrate and dignify his favorite city. Armagh also claims the honour of being the burial-place of the great King of Ireland, Brian Boroihme, who was slain in his eighty-eighth year, in the great battle of Clontarf, won by him over the Danes in the year 1014. In the ancient annals of Ireland he is thus made to declare on the battle-field, immediately before his death, his preference for Armagh:—"Announce (he said) that I bequeath my soul to God and to the intercession of Saint Patrick, my body to Armagh, and my blessing to my son

Denis O'Brian. I moreover bequeath twelve score of oxen to Armagh."

But Armagh has to boast, in more modern times, of a son whose honour and glory, though won in a different sphere, may even vie with those of the saints and heroes of old. Dr. Richard Robinson, Archbishop of Armagh, from 1765 to 1794, was one of that rare class of men whose indomitable energy and enterprise inevitably impress—and usually dominate and change—the sphere in which they live, whether that sphere be small or great. Fortunately for Armagh, the ambitious activity of its noble Primate, took the form of public improvement in all its forms—in things intellectual and moral as well as physical; and this spirit, exerted only for the short period of thirty years, sufficed to convert Armagh, from "a collection of mud cabins" to an elegant town, almost such as we see it at present: nay more, enriched and adorned it and its neighbourhood with almost every public institution which a civilised community requires.

The following are some of Dr. Robinson's public acts, set down in the order of their performance:—he first completely renewed the Archbishop's-house in the town; and afterwards, in 1770, raised from its foundations the present noble palace, in its splendid demesne, overlooking the town. In 1781, he built a beautiful chapel near the palace. In 1783, he erected in the Archiepiscopal Park that noble obelisk, 114 feet in height, which shows so

conspicuously from every part of the neighbourhood. Though raised ostensibly as a monument to Friendship, the true cause of its erection was to give work to the labourers of Armagh, at a period of great public distress. It cost 1000*l.* He not only completely repaired the Cathedral, but reared a second tower on it after the first (which he had also erected) had been pulled down from insecurity. In 1776 he established the County Infirmary, and between that time and 1780, he built seven houses for the vicars, a music-hall for the choir, and a repository for the records of the arch-diocese. In 1772 he built the public library, and endowed it with lands, besides bequeathing to it his own library. In 1773 he erected the Classical School or College; and finally he endowed and erected the noble Observatory, which has made the town so celebrated. This establishment was endowed by the Primate with lands which he had purchased at the cost of 5500*l.*; with the rectorial tithes of a parish; with the proceeds of a farm in the county of Tyrone; over and above the 22 acres of demesne attached to the Observatory.

In all these improvements he did not forget the town itself; but partly by example, partly by persuasion, and partly by the controlling power he possessed over the leases of his numerous tenantry, he succeeded in doing as much for Armagh as Augustus did for Rome. Nor did his genius disdain to work in humble spheres. For instance,

among other benefits conferred on his fellow-citizens, was the establishment of a spacious Shambles, which, for that day and place, must have been a singular pattern of excellence. "They consist of ranges of sheds, so disposed as to enclose an area which is paved and kept perfectly clean in every season of the year. The sheds are subdivided into various stalls, which are allotted to different butchers, whose names are inscribed in front." With its physical regeneration, says the historian of Armagh, "its commerce revived; the spirit of the inhabitants increased with their wealth; and the city, which had been reduced to a state of the most melancholy degradation, began to reassume its long-lost respectability and beauty."

Although on these numerous great works Dr. Robinson expended immense sums of money of his own, he did not supply all the means requisite for their accomplishment. But he was the author and instigator of the whole, and almost as much entitled to the gratitude of his fellow citizens for what he made others do, as for what he did himself.

In traversing the streets of Armagh, in strolling round its neighbourhood, in looking at its public buildings, and, above all, in visiting its public institutions, the memory of this great and good man is ever in the mind, seeming to hallow everything, as with the presence of a spirit.

The Cathedral, mended and repaired by so many Archbishops, and especially, as already stated, by

Dr. Robinson, was finally completely restored through the exertions of the present Primate, Lord John Beresford, who, in this work, even exceeded his great predecessor in the liberality of his contributions. The restorations having comprised the whole building without and within, it now looks like a perfectly new structure, and is certainly a very elegant piece of architecture, but almost too plain in its style. Its position on a hill within the city, with its fine tower and spire, gives it a commanding character, and the view from the top of the tower is uncommonly fine.

The Church contains one noble monument of a former Dean (Drelincourt) by Rysbrach; but it is not creditable to Armagh that its great Primate has no other monument in it than a plain bust; and this, too, placed by a private hand. It may, indeed, be more truly said of Dr. Robinson than of most men, and especially may it be said on this Acropolis of Armagh:—"Si monumentum queris circumspice;" but it would be pleasant to see him honoured by his fellow-citizens as well as by his own deeds.

The Public Library is close to the Cathedral, and is a handsome building. The library rooms are spacious, and contain, it is said, from 30 to 40,000 volumes, and among the rest, the whole of Dr. Robinson's library. Like the Observatory, it was permanently endowed by its founder with funds sufficient to keep it in repair, to pay the salary of

the librarian and attendants, and, occasionally, to purchase books.

The Observatory is a small but neat building, prettily situated on a rising ground in the midst of a park of twenty acres. It is well supplied with instruments; and the high reputation of the present astronomer, Dr. Robinson, is a guarantee that they are well employed by himself and his assistants.

The Classical School, or College, as it was formerly called, was originally founded and endowed by Charles the First. Lands, supposed then to amount only to 720 acres, but which are now found to comprise no less than 1530 (including water, bog, &c.) were devoted to its support, and are still held by it. These lands are stated in the 'History of Armagh' to have produced, in 1818, a rental of 1402*l.* 11*s.* 1*d.*; but this, in a parliamentary return for 1849, is said to be only 874*l.* 18*s.* 2½*d.* The present buildings, which are very commodious, were erected in 1774 at the instigation and by the assistance of Primate Robinson. One hundred boarders can be accommodated in the house, besides numerous day-scholars, who are privileged to attend from the town. I was not able to visit this school, but I was informed that there were not more than 30 boarders and about 50 day-boys then belonging to it. It is one of the four endowed schools (the others being Dungannon, Enniskillen, and Cavan), who have 30 exhibitions of from 25*l.* to 50*l.*

divided among their pupils who enter Trinity College, Dublin.

There is within the precincts of the town a small park or promenade called The Mall, laid out in shrubberies and walks, which is a great accommodation to the inhabitants. It contains between seven and eight English acres. I believe, also the free demesne of the palace is open to the citizens for recreation.

Armagh is a very fine town, more in the English style than most others seen by us in Ireland. Its population in 1841, was 10,245; and in 1851, 8849.

The division of the population of Armagh, according to religious denominations, seems to assimilate with those of Ulster generally. The information I obtained in the town itself was to this effect: that the Presbyterians and Catholics were nearly equal in numbers, and together constituted three fourths of the population, while the members of the Established Church made up the other fourth. This account seems to give to the Presbyterian element much too great a value, unless we admit that it has greatly and disproportionably increased since the period when the subject was formally investigated. In the year 1818, a careful census of the town was taken, with the following results:

Members of the Established Church	2001
Presbyterians	1596
Roman Catholics	3413

In the year 1834 the census of the whole parish of Armagh was as follows:

Members of the Established Church	3586
Presbyterians	1588
Other Protestant Dissenters	44
Roman Catholics	5546

According to these estimates, it would appear that the Catholics constituted about one half of the population, while the Presbyterians were by much the smaller party of the three.

There were formerly four National Schools in Armagh; and I see by the official Reports, that in September, 1850, they had on their books 533 boys and 299 girls; and in March, 1851, 355 boys and 240 girls. On making inquiry, however, respecting these, I was informed that they were all now closed: I did not learn from what cause; but I see it stated in the Commissioners' last Report (September, 1851,) that the master of one of the schools had been dismissed, yet still retained possession of the house.

The place of these schools is now very inadequately supplied by others connected with the different churches and religious establishments. Two of these schools belong to the Established Church, and are in connection with the Church Education Society. In 1851, they had on the books 272 boys and 211 girls, with an average attendance of 144 and 117. One of these (the Drelincourt male and female school) was originally founded in 1732 by Mrs. Drelincourt, the widow of the Dean, and still de-

rives a certain amount of income from funds then bequeathed for its support.

There are also three other schools in the parish, two of them Infant schools. One of the latter is in the town, and last year had 119 on the books, with an average attendance of 60. The other infant school at St. Callan had on the books 133, with an average attendance of 55; while the school of Banbrook (not infant) had 178 on the books, and an average attendance of 54.

There are also two schools attached to the Catholic religious establishments of the Franciscan Friars and Presentation Nuns, which are said to be well attended.

The Temperance system, which had once greatly flourished in Armagh, has within the last two years had a sort of revival. A Society called the Cork Branch, which had become extinct, now has 200 members, and is gradually augmenting its numbers. There is a benevolent Society connected with it, the members paying for both 10*d.* a month. Another called the Armagh Temperance Society, also of about two years' standing, has about 100 members, besides an affiliated branch, called the Juvenile Temperance, which has about 50 members. The Temperance Reading-Room and the Temperance Hotel have become extinct; but it is expected that they will be restored,—at least the Reading-Room. Meantime it may be safely stated, that the city of Armagh possesses a population distinguished for their sobriety.

CHAPTER X.

THE UNION WORKHOUSES OF IRELAND.

That of Antrim being the last of the Union Workhouses visited by me in Ireland, I think it will be expected, after the numerous details given of individual houses in the preceding pages, that I should, before finally dismissing the subject, make some observations of a more general character on the great institution of which they constitute the chief feature. Poor Law Establishments, though unquestionably morbid products of an imperfect civilization, are, in all the countries where they exist, of great national importance; and that of Ireland is so in an especial manner.

But for the existence of the Poor Law system in Ireland, during the years of famine and pestilence, hundreds of thousands of persons would have perished, in spite of all the extraneous aid supplied by the British Government, and the people of England in their private capacity. In their Annual Report, dated 1st May, 1848, the Irish Poor Law Commissioners make the following statements:—

"Including the large number of inmates maintained in the workhouses, we may state that more than 800,000 persons are daily relieved at the charge of the poor-rates, consisting chiefly of the most helpless part of the most indigent classes in Ireland; and we cannot doubt that of this number a very large proportion are by this means, and this means alone, daily preserved from death through want of food. . . . . Including the relief contributed by our Inspectors from the funds of the British Association, in certain distressed Unions, the entire number of persons provided with daily sustenance in Ireland, may be stated, in round numbers, to be 1,000,000, or about one eighth part of the whole population."

Since that disastrous period, the labours of the Poor Law Commission have been incessant to improve and perfect the system of relief, tempering the sound economical principles on which it is founded, with every humane modification of which they are susceptible. The result has been, that they have at length established a system as complete as any such progressive system can well be; and which is no less distinguished for its general philosophical principles than for its humane spirit. As now established, it will not only render any future miseries like those of the famine-years in Ireland impossible; but will, while ministering to the inevitable and habitual wants of the poor, open up a perennial source of progressive amelioration for that

class of the community—until the time arrives when all such extraneous aid can be dispensed with. As at present conducted, the general tendency of the system is, unquestionably, to discourage and discountenance, in the young and healthy, all reliance on eleemosynary relief, while it provides, in the tenderest manner, succour and support for those who are not in a condition to effect their own maintenance by their personal labour.

In the accounts given of the individual workhouses, in many parts of the preceding pages, one invariable result will have been observed, namely, the great decrease of inmates recently, in comparison with former years; and this at a time, too, when the practice of granting out-door relief may be said to have entirely ceased.

As contributing to this result, we must, no doubt, admit as a principal cause, the vast thinning of the population by death and emigration; but we cannot refuse also to reckon as causes, the improved condition of the labouring class from the greater and more steady demand for labour, and, I would add, the increased disposition of the labourers to work out their own maintenance. In p. 297, of vol. I, I gave a statement of the total numbers relieved annually in the workhouses and out of doors from 1848 to 1851, as also of the annual cost of this relief in money: as a complement to this, I here subjoin the actual numbers of persons who received relief in the workhouses and out of doors, on a particular

week in April during the last six years; the date prefixed being the day on which the week terminated in each year:—

Date.	No. receiving Relief at one time.		
	In Workhouses.	Out of Doors.	Total In and Out.
1847, April 24	101,566		
1848 „ 8	129,323	638,141	761,464
1849 „ 28	211,285	605,468	819,753
1850 „ 27	242,815	119,780	362,568
1851 „ 26	249,277	10·930	260,207
1852 „ 24	186,453	3,498	189,951

In seeking to estimate from this table the actual state of pauperism in Ireland during the last five years, we must embrace in one view all the classes relieved, viz., in-door and out-door paupers, as is done in the last column. If we look to the inmates of the workhouses only, we shall be misled by the progressive increase of numbers from 1847 to 1851, in which last year the maximum number was attained. But the fact is, that the augmented numbers in the houses during the years 1850 and 1851, were not owing to a corresponding increase of pauperism, but to the gradual discontinuance of out-door relief, as the workhouse-accommodation became gradually enlarged. In the year 1852, however, it will be observed, that the general decrease has become so great as to show itself almost as conspicuously by the numbers in the houses as by the numbers relieved out of doors. Henceforward, all, or almost all, relief out of doors will be discontinued,

the house accommodation being now supposed amply sufficient for all future applicants; and it is gratifying to think, that while this arrangement was always in accordance with sound principles of political economy, it is now much more in accordance with the feelings of the poor than it was some years since.

In their Report, dated May, 1848, the Commissioners make the following statement:—"If there has been anything unsatisfactory in the operation of the workhouse as a condition of relief in the present season of severe distress, it is, that in localities where destitution has undoubtedly prevailed, the unwillingness of some poor persons to avail themselves of this mode of relief has been so great, that they have sacrificed their own lives, or the lives of their children, by postponing acceptance too long, or by refusing such relief altogether." And that the reluctance to accept such relief was no transient or superficial feeling among the Irish poor, is most painfully evinced by other documents of an equally authentic kind. I need refer to no others than to the number of deaths "from want or starvation," recorded in the verdicts of coroners' juries, year after year, as given in the Commissioners' Reports. The following is an abstract:

Period.	No. of Verdicts.
From 30th Sept. 1847, to 22d April, 1848 .	176
From 23d April, 1848, to 14th July, 1849	589
From 14th July, 1849 to 20th April, 1850	225
From 21st April, 1850, to 30th April, 1851	214
From May 6th, 1851, to 30th April, 1852 .	120
Total	1324

In circumstances so likely to create prejudice, it is probable that a certain proportion of these verdicts might be hardly borne out by the facts; still, there cannot be a doubt of the proofs they afford of the great prevalence and powerful nature of the feelings referred to. Indeed, this is very candidly admitted by the Commissioners themselves in one of their Reports. "We may here state (they say) that several of those verdicts [in the first Return for 1847-8] appear from the Inspectors' reports to have been hastily considered, and pronounced without previous full inquiry into material points; but that, on the other hand, in a majority of the cases inquired into and reported, there is too much reason to apprehend that previous great privation has existed, and either proximately caused or accelerated death, or, as seems to be the far more frequent occurrence, induced disease which had a fatal termination." I. 19.

It will be observed from the table, that these sad occurrences have been progressively decreasing; and I think it may be almost said, at the present time, that the prejudices leading to them hardly exist in a greater degree than is proper,—indicating simply the natural reluctance to exchange a personal home, however miserable, for the mere life-sustaining appliances of a public eleemosynary institution.

From the reports of these workhouses as given in the preceding chapters of this work (much too numerous I doubt not, and containing too many

dry details to be found agreeable to the majority of my readers) I think it will be generally allowed that their condition and general arrangements are such as to afford nearly all the benefits that establishments of the kind can, or ought to afford to men who have the misfortune to need their succour. They yield all the necessaries of life to those who cannot help themselves,—the young, the aged, and the sick; and they supply to healthy adults such an amount of relief as may preserve life and health, and yet give no undue encouragement to the unworthy to prefer an idle or a useless life to a beneficial course of labour. They will, also, I think, be found to contribute an important portion of that machinery now so busily at work in Ireland, for indoctrinating the rising generation in much that their fathers knew not, and which must materially contribute to the nation's progress in one of its most vital aspects, the personal habits and character of the people.

It will not be expected in a work like the present that I should enter further into the general statistical relations of the workhouse establishment in Ireland, however important and interesting these may be; but I cannot dismiss the subject without some additional comment on several of the particulars of which I have taken notice in speaking of the individual workhouses; if it were merely by showing their importance, to exculpate myself from the charge of having encumbered my pages with so many dry details. In performing this task, however,

I must content myself with much more superficial notices than several of the subjects deserve.

1. I have spoken so repeatedly of the admirable order, cleanliness, and general discipline of the workhouses, as also of the intelligence and civility of the masters and other officers, that I refer to them here solely for the purpose of generalising my remarks. I will add, that the arrangements are generally of a kind that affords great facilities for carrying out the objects contemplated in their erection. The Houses have the great advantage of having been planned by excellent architects, who seem to have been permitted to work out their designs without any undue restrictions as to cost.

2. *Dietary.*—The peculiarity of this in the workhouses, as recorded in many preceding pages, will, I doubt not, have attracted the attention of most of my readers; more especially such as are accustomed only to the fare of the people of England. To such persons, two meals only in the twenty-four hours, and these consisting almost exclusively of farinaceous matter, and without a particle of animal food, from one year's end to the other—must seem very inadequate fare, hardly capable of even sustaining life,—to say nothing of its insufficiency to support the bodily exertions of an adult working man. When, however, it is remembered that the universal habit of the Irish people of the labouring class, has long been to live almost exclusively on the potato, an article of diet much less nutritive than

any of the kinds of meal which constitute the workhouse fare, the want of flesh as one of the articles of diet, and the want of variety in the other articles, will seem less extraordinary. Even the limitation of the meals to two, would seem, from some statements in my first volume (p. 113,) to be among the ordinary habits of the Irish peasantry. The only questions, therefore, that would seem to require consideration under this head, are these :— Is the amount of nutriment in the Irish dietaries sufficient for the support of healthy life ? If sufficient in amount, is its great sameness likely to render it unwholesome ?

Before considering these questions, it seems expedient here to reproduce, in a comprehensive and condensed form, a certain number of the dietaries of Ireland already given in various parts of these volumes ; and to place, in conjunction with these, a like number of the dietaries of the English workhouses : the individual dietaries in each list, being taken from various and distant parts of each country. I may add, that each Table exhibits the highest allowance in the respective workhouses, that is, the diet of adult males.

TABLE I. (Irish Dietaries.)

WORKHOUSES.	No. of days in the week each form of food is supplied.	BREAKFAST.	No. of days in the week each form of food is supplied.	DINNER.	No. of days in the week each form of food is supplied.	SUPPER.
Skibbereen .	7	9 oz. Indian meal ½ pint of milk	7	14 oz. bread (brown) 1½ oz. oatmeal (in gruel)	7	None
Killarney . .	7	16 oz. bread 1 pt. milk or veg. soup	7	8 oz. Ind. meal (in stir.) 1½ pt. milk	7	None
Enniskillen .	7	8 or 9 oz. meal (mixed) 1 pt. milk	7	9 or 10 oz. meal (mixed) ½ pt. milk	7	None
Castlebar . .	7	8 oz. of Indian meal ½ pt. milk	7	16 oz. brd. (compound) 2 pt. gruel	7	None
Londonderry .	7	7 oz. meal ⅓ qt. of milk	7	12 oz. bread 1 qt. vegetable soup	7	6 oz. meal (in stir.) ⅓ qt. of milk
			3	6 oz. oatmeal (in stir.) ⅓ qt. of buttermilk		
Ballycastle .	7	6 oz. oatmeal ⅕ qt. of buttermilk	4	6 oz. oatmeal (in soup) 2 oz. meat (in soup) 8 oz. bread	7	5 oz. oatmeal (in stir.) ⅓ qt. of milk

TABLE II. (English Dietaries.)

UNION.	No. of days each form of diet is given.	BREAKFAST.	No. of days each form of diet is given.	DINNER.	No. of days each form of diet is given.	SUPPER.
Aylesbury . . (Bucks)	7	6 oz. bread 1 pt. milk porridge	2 2 2 1	5 oz. meat, 4 oz. bread, 12 oz. potatoes 4 oz. bacon, 12 oz. potatoes 14 oz. suet or rice pudding 8 oz. bread, 1½ oz. cheese	2 5	6 oz. bread 1 pt. rice broth 6 oz. bread 1 oz. cheese
Winslow (Bucks)	7	6 oz. bread 1½ pt. gruel	3 2 1 1	12 oz. suet or rice pud., vegetables 2 pts. soup, 6 oz. bread 6 oz. meat, 3 oz. bread, vegetables 12 oz. meat pudding, vegetables	7	7 oz. bread 1½ oz. cheese
Westhampnett (Sussex)	7	6 oz. bread 1½ pt. gruel	3 2 2	2 pts. soup, 4 oz. bread 6 oz. bacon, vegetables 12 oz. rice or suet pud., vegetables	7	6 oz. bread 2 oz. cheese
Northampton	7	6 oz. bread 1½ pt. gruel	3 3 1	5 oz. meat, 12 oz. potatoes, 2 oz. bread 1½ pt. soup, 2 oz. bread 14 oz. suet or rice pudding	7	7 oz. bread 1½ oz. cheese
Thame (Oxford and Bucks)	7	6 oz. bread 1½ pt. milk porridge	2 2 2 1	6 oz. meat, 4 oz. bread, 8 oz. potatoes 1½ pt. soup, 4 oz. bread 14 oz. suet or rice pud., 8 oz. potatoes 7 oz. bread, 1½ oz. cheese	7	7 oz. bread 1½ oz. cheese.

Previously to making any comments on these dietaries, it will be necessary to make a few remarks respecting some of the items in the Irish; those of the English will be generally understood. The "meal" mentioned in the Irish Table, is either pure oatmeal or Indian meal, or a mixture of the two; and when the larger quantity is mentioned (as 6—9 oz.,) it is understood to be made into porridge or stirabout, with water and salt. Where the smaller quantity of meal is mentioned (as $1\frac{1}{2}$ oz.,) it is understood to be made into gruel or vegetable soup, the usual composition of which last is as follows, the quantity of meal and also of vegetables varying in the different dietaries:—8 oz. oatmeal to the gallon of water, seasoned with pepper and salt, and thickened with vegetables, viz., onions, cabbages, parsnips, carrots and turnips, according to the season. The milk mentioned in the Irish dietaries, is almost always butter-milk; sometimes it is ordinary skimmed milk, but, I think, never (or very rarely,) fresh or new milk containing the cream.

Now, in comparing the Irish and English dietaries, with a view to the solution of the questions propounded above, I have little doubt that most of my readers will at once condemn the former, not merely for its extreme unchangeableness, but for its great inferiority in regard to actual nutriment. The English dietary, with its very considerable amount of actual meat, and soup made with meat in it, together with the cheese, the puddings and vege-

tables, will be regarded, I doubt not, as containing altogether a much larger stock of nutriment than the almost exclusively farinaceous dietary of the Irish. Accurate chemical examinations of the two dietaries, however, leads to a conclusion the very reverse of this—showing the Irish dietary to contain the largest proportion of nutriment of the two. In proof of this, I subjoin a brief report, kindly furnished to me by a scientific friend, whose name, if mentioned, would be at once allowed to be sufficient warrant for confidence in his opinions. The Report refers to the two sets of dietaries given above.

"I have done my best to make out an accurate comparison of your dietaries; and still find that your Irish friends have an advantage in point of quantity, both of *dry nutriment*, and of *azotised matters*,[1] over the English. If my calculations are correct, the general average of the six (daily) Irish dietaries is as follows:—

Dry Nutriment.	Azotised Nutriment.
oz.	oz.
18.65	4.4

"This is a little higher than my former calculation of azotised nutriment,[2] owing partly to the larger quantity of milk which some of these Unions have, but chiefly to the suppers in two of them. The breakfasts and dinners are rather less in these, but their sum total rather greater.

[1] Albuminous, or azotised nutriment, is that from which flesh or animal fibre is now ascertained to be chiefly formed.

[2] Made from three dietaries only—the first three in the Table.

"In calculating the English dietaries, I have been obliged to guess at the pudding, soup, and vegetables, and have not exact data for the bacon; my results, however, cannot, I think, be far wrong; they give the average daily nutriment as follows:—

Dry Nutriment.	Azotised Nutriment.
oz.	oz.
15.50	3.90

"This may surprise you; but it must be borne in mind that, weight for weight, *meal* is much more nutritious than *bread*, and that even *butter-milk* contains about one fourth as much azotised nutriment as *meat*, so that 1 pint (16 oz.) of butter-milk, is equal to 4 oz. of meat. Potatoes, too, have a very low value, though bulky, being nearly three fourths water, and having only *one fortieth* of azotised matters.

"The want of variety is, to my mind, the chief fault of the Irish dietaries; and it is to be borne in mind, that the fact is now well-ascertained (by the experience of prisons,) that a diet which will answer very well when the body and mind have the variety of out-door exercise and freedom, does not answer under the monotony of confinement."

I entirely coincide in the truth and importance of the last observation respecting the want of variety in the Irish dietary. The extreme sameness of this, day after day, week after week, is quite remarkable; and cannot fail, in my opinion, to have an injurious effect, through its influence on the mind, at least, if

not directly as physical nutriment. It is perfectly true, that the private domestic dietary of many nations,—that of the Irish themselves among the number—is almost as little varied; but there is a vast difference between an unvaried diet with an unvaried life, and an unvaried diet with a varied life; between the life led in the open air, by the free Irishman, or Scotsman, or Hindoo, and the life led within the dreary walls, and amid the stagnant air of a workhouse.

On these grounds, therefore, and on many others equally obvious and strong, I cannot but think that the present Irish dietary is really defective, and may probably be dangerous. And, notwithstanding the fair appearance of health witnessed by me among the inmates, at least among the children, I cannot free my mind from the suspicion that the greater prevalence of fever in the Irish workhouses, and the astounding prevalence of ophthalmia, may be partly, at least, owing to this defect.

We have seen that the dietaries of several of the workhouses in Ulster, are improved by the allowance of a third meal in the day, and by the addition of a small portion of animal food (2 oz. per head), in the vegetable soup, three days in the week. If this plan were somewhat extended, and generally adopted throughout Ireland, together with an increased allowance of fresh vegetables, it would in itself be a great improvement; but to effect all that seems desirable, the whole dietary ought to assume

something of the varied character of that of the English workhouses.

I remarked, in a former chapter, on the great singularity (as it seems to me,) of one feature in the Irish workhouse dietaries—viz., the almost total exclusion of potatoes from them. I had, at one time, a notion that such exclusion might have been intentional on the part of the authorities, with the object of weaning the peasantry from the use of this root, and of giving them a greater relish for food of a safer growth. I believe, however, that no idea of this kind influenced the arrangement of the dietaries; although I cannot yet understand, why so wholesome and economical a species of food, should have been so rigidly excluded. I believe, nevertheless, that its exclusion will have the effect—whether contemplated or not—of rendering the people of Ireland less dependent on this treacherous root, and more attached to cereal food. This latter taste has evidently grown greatly of late years in Ireland, particularly in regard to Indian meal, which has, as formerly remarked, become of universal use among the peasantry, and is greatly liked and prized.

3. *Ophthalmia.*—The prevalence of any disease, whether contagious or not, so very extensively and so obstinately as the ophthalmia has prevailed of late years in the Irish Unions, leads one naturally to suspect that there must be some predisposing or exciting cause of it within the establishments themselves; and when we find the houses, on the whole,

so clean, roomy, and well-aired, and the inmates well-clothed, we are naturally led to consider whether diet, the most general cause of all, may be calculated to lead to such results. That the want of a fair proportion of animal fibre or of fresh vegetable matter in the diet, or the extreme sameness of the food, continued through long periods—all shown to exist in the present dietary—should, singly or combined, be capable of producing such a state of constitution as predisposes to certain diseases of a low type, and to ophthalmia among others, will not appear improbable to any medical man. On this ground alone—although my reports of the individual houses show, generally, a healthy condition of the inmates, and especially of the younger classes; and although I admit that I have not myself traced any certain connection between the two events,—I feel justified in urging on the Irish authorities, *in the event of the persistence of the malady*, the propriety of permanently improving the dietaries in the way pointed out. I am the more induced to take this view of the case from finding that the two eminent medical authorities consulted by the Poor Law Commissioners respecting the prevalence of the disease (Dr. Jacob and Mr. Wilde) take precisely the same view of the subject, and advise the like alteration.[1] And it is but doing justice to the Commissioners themselves to state that in their

[1] See Reports of Dr. Jacob and Mr. Wilde in the Commissioners' Fourth Report.

circular to the Guardians on this subject, they adopt the views of their medical advisers.[1] The view now taken of the dietary receives additional support from some statements made by the Medical Inspector, Mr. Phelan, in 1849, and by Mr. Hall in 1852. The former states that in one of the workhouses a number of patients were found to be actually affected with scurvy, and "which the medical officer attributed to the want of a sufficiency of vegetables and milk in the dietary."[2] Mr. Hall, in commending the system of attaching small farms to the workhouses, names as one of their advantages, the supply of vegetables to the inmates, "whereby the injurious effects *which have been found to arise* from the continued and exclusive use of farinaceous food, are counteracted."[3]

That diet alone, however, should be made chargeable for the whole amount of ophthalmic disease prevailing in the workhouses, would be most unjust. It may be the chief remote cause, but many other causes must co-operate in exciting the actual disease, and in diffusing it. Among this number may be mentioned, the numerous common influences, moral as well as physical, necessarily affecting a large mass of human beings collected in one place, and shut out, in a considerable degree, by stone walls from the open air; also topical inoculation, contagion, &c. It is also a melancholy fact, worthy of notice, that a certain portion of the cases have

[1] Ibid., p. 128. [2] Third Report, p. 44. [3] Fifth Report, p. 133.

been traced to the willful application of irritating substances to the eyes, by the patients themselves, impelled by the miserable motives of escaping from school, and of obtaining a superior diet in the hospital. It ought, moreover, to be mentioned, that of the total number of cases of ophthalmia presented in the workhouses in 1849-50-51,—(viz., 86,959), 2253, or about one in 38 or 39, came into the houses already affected with the disease.

From my own observation and inquiries in the various workhouses visited by me, it would appear that the number of persons afflicted with ophthalmia had greatly declined since the previous year; its prevalence was, however, still great. The following statements show the frightful extent to which the disease has prevailed, and some of its melancholy consequences:

Year	No. of Cases.
1849	13,812
1850	27,200
1851	45,947
Total	86,959

Out of this number the following have suffered the under-mentioned mutilations:

Sight partially injured	1449
One eye lost	972
Both eyes lost	380

4. *Religious Statistics.*—One of the objects I had constantly in view in my journey throughout Ireland

being to endeavour to ascertain practically, from actual examination and inquiry, the relative numbers of the adherents to the two religions among the great body of the people, I naturally took advantage of the facilities afforded to me on this point by the schools and workhouses. The workhouses, more especially, peopled as they are exclusively by the most destitute members of the community, are calculated to supply the best possible criteria for determining this point in regard to the most numerous class of the people. Those who have taken the trouble to follow me in my visits to the individual Unions, cannot fail to have been struck with the great superiority of the numbers of the Catholic inmates, not merely in the more Catholic parts of Ireland, but even in the most Protestant districts of Ulster itself. In going back over the reports I have given of the individual workhouses, I find the general result is as follows:—In seven of the Unions in the south and west of Ireland, the proportion of Catholics to Protestants is about 42 to 1; in five of the Unions in Ulster, together with that of Sligo (in which the proportion of Protestants is large) the proportion is about five Catholics to one Protestant; taking all the Unions together, the general proportion is about 20 Catholics to one Protestant.

5. *Illegitimate Children.*—In more than one page in the preceding narrative, I have adverted to opinions generally prevalent in Ireland respecting the very

correct behaviour of the women of the lower classes of society; and I have, in more than one place, avowed my belief in the accuracy of the statements which place the chastity of the unmarried women of Ireland on a much higher level than that of the women of England and Scotland, in the same class of society. A reference to the unquestionable evidence supplied by the records of the workhouses, proves that these statements, when taken in a relative point of view, are strictly true; but the same evidence, when regarded absolutely, likewise proves, that the purity of female life in Ireland falls not a little below the standard which common opinion has set up. While our stern statistics unquestionably show that the proportion of illegitimate children among the workhouse population in Ireland is greatly less than in England and Wales, I fear they will hardly justify the belief formerly expressed by me, as the result of my general inquiries, that "unmarried mothers are quite a rarity in Ireland." Still, I think the statistical details which follow, will be allowed to justify, to a considerable extent, the proud position usually accorded to the young women of the labouring-classes in Ireland.

In both the Irish and English Poor-Law Reports, Tables of Classification are given (not every year), which set forth, to a certain extent, the social and domestic relations of the persons receiving relief. One of the subdivisions contains the number of

children in the houses belonging to inmates, and classed according as their parents are able-bodied or not able-bodied. These children are further classed under the heads of illegitimate and legitimate. We have thus an opportunity of comparing the two countries together, in regard to this point, as far, at least, as regards one class of the community, the lowest, or working class.[1]

Before proceeding, however, to make this comparison, it will be necessary to notice a difference that exists in the mode of setting forth the same data in the two countries, otherwise erroneous conclusions as to the *actual amount* of illegitimacy may be deduced from the figures. The difference is this: the Irish Tables give the *total number of children in the houses during the whole of each half-year*, while the English Tables merely give the *number in the houses on one particular day*, viz., the last day of each half-year. Consequently, if we were to compare the total number of any of the classes in the two sets of Tables, one with another, we might be comparing two very different things, viz., a sum total comprehending all the children in the houses at any time during a period of six months, with a sum total comprising only those present in them on a single day. But this circumstance affects, in no way, the accuracy of the *proportions* of the respective classes,

[1] It is singular that the Poor-Law Reports for SCOTLAND do not give this information. I hope my countrymen are not ashamed to publish this portion of their domestic history.

in the Tables of the two countries, which is the only part of the subject now under examination. With this explanation, I shall give the figures exactly as I find them in the Irish and English Reports; and to avoid all chance of partiality, shall give *the whole* of the Tables to be found in each national series, viz., those for the two half-years in the Irish Tables ending on the 31st March, 1849 and 1851; and those in the English Tables for the years 1848-9-50-51.

The results even of this proportional collation as already hinted, are certainly far less complimentary to my fair barefooted clients than could have been wished; but "everything by comparison," as the adage says: the darker blot from the eastern side of St. George's channel, which we place beside this stain on Irish chastity, seems to blanch it wonderfully.

Total number of the Children of the Inmates of Workhouses in Ireland, England, and Wales, with the proportion of Illegitimate to Legitimate in each Country.

Country.	Legitimate.	Illegitimate.	Total.
Ireland (two half-years)	274,788	16,677	607,868
England (four years) . .	92,820	62,066	154,886
Wales (four years) . .	2677	3070	5747

These numbers give the following as the proportions between the two classes of illegitimate and

legitimate children in the workhouses of the three countries :

	Illegitimate.		Legitimate.
Ireland	1	to	16.47
England . . .	1	to	1.49
Wales	1	to	0.87
England and Wales .	1	to	1.46

It seems thus fairly established as a fact, that incontinency is a vice much less prevalent among the lower classes in Ireland than in England and Wales. It would be an interesting subject of inquiry to endeavour to come at the cause or causes, of the difference. I formerly adverted to one circumstance which is regarded in Ireland as powerfully operative in preserving the good fame of the women who profess the Catholic religion, viz., the practice of confession. Admitting that this is really an influential cause, as I believe it is, the habit of early marriages must no doubt be also considered as another, and one probably of equal importance.

With the view of testing, as far as was practicable, the truth of the theory respecting the influence of Confession on this branch of morals, I have obtained, through the courtesy of the Poor-Law Commissioners, a return of the number of legitimate and illegitimate children in the workhouses of each of the four Provinces in Ireland, on a particular day, viz. the 27th November, 1852. The subjoined Table contains this return, together with the proportion of Protestants and Catholics among the whole population in each province, and the

proportion of illegitimate to the legitimate children in the workhouses.[1] It is curious to remark how strikingly the results there conveyed correspond with the Confessional theory; the proportion of illegitimate children coinciding almost exactly with the relative proportion of the two religions in each province; being large where the Protestant element is large and small where it is small. Thus, in Connaught, where the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is only as 1 to 6.45, the proportion of illegitimate children to legitimate is only as 1 to 23.53; while in Ulster, where the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is as 1.42 to 1, the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children is as 1 to 7.26.

Name of Province.	Proportion of Protestants and Catholics in the general Population.			Total No. of Children in the Work-houses.	Total No. of Illegitimate Children in the Work-houses.	Proportion of Illegitimate to Legitimate Children in the Workhouses.		
	Prot.		Cath.			Illegit.		Legit.
Connaught	1	to	6.45	9766	415	1	to	23.53
Munster	1	to	9.45	34,959	1623	1	to	21.53
Leinster	1	to	3.93	16,357	1386	1	to	11.80
Ulster	1.42	to	1.00	7320	1007	1	to	7.26

It is necessary to remark that the numbers in the 3d and 4th columns of this table as in that given

[1] The proportional estimate of the members of the two religions is calculated from the School Returns of 1834, the average of the two Returns by the Protestant and Catholic clergy being adopted. It is not pretended that this affords more than an approximation to the truth; but as a proportional standard it is sufficiently accurate.

above (p. 243), are not to be taken as absolutely correct, though perfectly accurate in their proportions as regards provinces. The fact is, that the point of legitimacy or illegitimacy is only noticed in the case of children *whose mothers are in the workhouse, or, at least, alive;* whereas, the column giving the total number of children contains a certain proportion of *orphans,* the character of whose birth is not recorded. It is therefore probable that some illegitimate children may be included under the head of orphans, in addition to those expressly enumerated in the Table; in which case the proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children would be larger than is there shown.

Although I think it will hardly be questioned, after the evidence of the foregoing facts, that what I have called the *Confessional theory* is really true, I should be sorry to stretch this, in any degree, beyond its legitimate bounds. I think it, therefore, right to observe that there is one other social condition more widely existing in Ulster than elsewhere, which may help to explain the inferior standard of morals among the young women: I refer to the greater prevalence of *Factory Life* in that province, a state of society well-known to predispose to immorality.

6. *Industrial Training.*—In more than one place, while noticing the workhouses individually, I have already adverted to what I regard as one of the most important characters of these establishments,—that

which constitutes them schools of industrial training for the rising generation. That they are also excellent mediums for the communication of the more ordinary knowledge taught in schools, must appear from the whole of my reports respecting them. It is a most striking feature in all the eleemosynary establishments for the destitute poor in modern times, that while the physical wants are ministered to, the intellectual necessities are equally consulted. And this is, certainly, the case in Ireland, in a very marked degree.

The industrial training of the girls in workhouses is comparatively an easy task, as the domestic and economical duties of the house itself furnish the means of employing them in almost all the kinds of occupation which will hereafter fall to their lot in private life. In their instructions to the Guardians, the Commissioners are very urgent on this head; and I can myself testify that their wishes are, on the whole, well carried out.

The training of boys is a less easy task; and has by no means yet attained the point it is destined to reach. Yet a good deal has been already done, and much more is in progress.

In my account of the workhouse at Ballina, in the present volume (p. 22,) I have noticed the sound principles on which the training of boys for agricultural purposes, has been founded by the Commissioners, and have given a specimen of its successful operation in that place. But the system has been

carried much further in several other workhouses, as in the Unions of Enniscorthy, Clogheen, Gorey, Dungarvan, Lismore, Clonmel, Newcastle, Listowel, Rathkeale, Galway. The following extracts from the Reports of two of the Inspectors, published in the last Report of the Commissioners, point out so clearly the nature of the training and its great benefits, that I gladly allow them to take the place of any further comments of my own:

From Mr. Duncan's Report:—"The influence of the farm training and employment upon the boys generally, in effecting improvement in their conduct and habits, is quite apparent. At first, it was with the utmost difficulty they could be got to work, and there were frequent recurrences of insubordination; but this has in a great measure ceased, and they now generally appear pleased with the work—an improvement that I am satisfied will be progressive. They show considerable aptitude to acquire skill in the use of the various implements. These are of the improved kinds used in England and the North of Ireland, and are now preferred by the boys to any other. The health of the boys is exceedingly good, and their physical powers appear to be developed greatly by the work.

"From my experience of the working of the Newcastle Union farm, I look upon this kind of training as the most successful which can be given to the boys. I doubt not that many of those employed at the farm, who have left the workhouse,

may have been able to do so in consequence of being better fitted for service. That a supply of labourers who know something of proper farming, and can use improved implements, may be procured from amongst these boys, hereafter, to meet the demand for male labour that is likely to exist, must be of great advantage to the country; and tend to lessen the prejudices against improvements in cultivation hitherto held by the farming classes. The experiment, so far as it has gone in the Newcastle Union, has, I think, fully succeeded."

From Mr. Hall's Report: — "The advantages arising from the Dangan Establishment may be said to consist in the inculcation of a practical knowledge of the most improved system of tillage-farming into the minds of a class of persons who carry with them, when leaving the workhouses, the skill thus acquired, and extend its benefits to the districts in which they may fix their residence. From the operation of this cause, it may not unreasonably be hoped that the antiquated, slovenly, and wasteful method of farming pursued by the poorer class of landholders, in the remote country districts, will gradually disappear, and be succeeded by a system free from these defects, and possessing the recommendation of being practicable with the implements of agriculture which are ordinarily found in the house of every labourer. Secondly, in the means which the institution affords for employing, in a manner calculated to improve their health and enlarge their

understanding, a portion of the workhouse inmates, who have arrived at that period of life in which character begins to be formed, and when a bias for good or for evil will have a material effect on its future development. Thirdly, in providing at all seasons an ample supply of vegetables for the use of the inmates of the workhouse, whereby the injurious effects which have been found to arise from the continued and exclusive use of farinaceous food are counteracted. And, finally, in the fact which the past year's accounts demonstrate, that the institution can be properly worked, not only without loss to the Union, but with some pecuniary benefit.

"The importance of early habituating the juvenile inmates of the workhouse to manual labour, especially in connection with agricultural employment, is fully exemplified in the readiness with which workhouse inmates of this class, when arrived at a proper age, can obtain engagements, as contrasted with inmates of similar years who have not been accustomed to regular work, and cannot be brought to apply themselves steadily to ordinary labour.

"In conclusion, I may remark, that there are evidences clearly manifesting themselves, which indicate that, by a proper system of management, the Union workhouse may become a powerful agent in effecting a permanent improvement in the habits and social condition of the labouring population in this part of Ireland."

7. Number of Paupers, and Cost of Maintenance.—I shall conclude these notices by a brief statement of the numbers relieved in the Unions, and the cost of maintenance during the last four years. Both these items are of fearful amount, and place the degraded condition of the peasantry in a most powerful light. But alas, such results are in no way peculiar to Ireland; they are exhibited in an almost equal degree by the English reports, all evidencing something fundamentally and grievously wrong in the social and economical condition of the whole class of our agricultural labourers, and in their relations to the classes above them. The poor-law system is, no doubt a blessed medicine for the temporary mitigation of the malady when it reaches the acute form; and it is therefore so far good: but means of a very different kind must be put in force to check the evil in its birth, or rather to prevent it altogether. Such means are not to be found, however, among the empirical nostrums of charity, applied to individual symptoms as they arise, but must be sought for among those more general, grand, and radical agencies which, like food, air, exercise, and time, in the body natural, change the constitution itself.

Number of Persons Relieved, with the Annual Cost of Maintenance in the Irish Workhouses.

Year ending 29th September.	No. Relieved.		Total Cost.
	In-door.	Out-door.	
			£
1848	610,463	1,433,042	1,835,634
1849	932,284	1,210,482	2,177,651
1850	805,702	368,565	1,430,108
1851	707,443	47,914	1,141,647

Notwithstanding these enormous sums expended on maintenance, so great are the numbers relieved that the amount expended on each individual is really marvellously small. Taking the average of the weekly averages for the last three years of the above Table, the weekly cost per head is only about 1*s.* 4*d.*, including clothing as well as maintenance. According to the Scottish Reports, the average weekly cost in Scotland is about 1*s.* 6*d.* The Poor-law Reports for England do not enable us to make the comparison with the English expenditure, as they do not give the weekly expenditure in detail.

CHAPTER XI.

NEWRY—ROSTREVOR—DROGHEDA.

The country from Armagh to Newry—about fifteen Irish miles, retains the same character as that already noticed in Antrim and Armagh. The first half of the distance is rather flat and tame; the latter half is more hilly and bolder; but all is cultivated and fertile, and not destitute of English fences.

About five or six miles from Armagh, we passed through the small town of Markethill, adjoining the splendid demesne of Lord Gosford, with its noble mansion: this we had not time to visit. The population of this place in 1841 was 1424, and in 1851 was 1369, a less decrease than usual in similar small towns. We here stopped to bait our horses at the door of a small inn, with its three or four windows in front. One of these windows exhibited for sale cigars and other small articles, sufficiently indicating the humble character of the house. Yet flaming in its forehead it exhibited a huge sign, designating it as "The Victoria Hotel."

While looking at this hostelric pretence of

grandeur, I could not help thinking of other similar or analogous instances seen or heard by us in many places in Ireland, and began to question whether there must not be something national in this disposition to magnify and dignify things beyond their simple value. All the inns are hotels; all the hills mountains; the poorest field has its huge stone posts and iron gates; every small country house has its demesne; everything Irish, in short, is the best; and is not Ireland itself the flower of the earth and the gem of the sea? And yet I would be loath to press the charge too far home, for fear I might have the tables turned against me and my own countrymen, and against all countries and countrymen: for who knows not—"qua natale solum dulcedine cunctos ducit?"

Without stopping at the town of Newry, we drove directly to the railway station, and proceeded forthwith to Warren Point, a small town about five miles below Newry on the banks of Carlingford Bay. The railway passes along or rather on the shore of the Newry river or estuary all the way, running, indeed, in many places, on a slight mound raised in the shallow water. There is one station between Newry and Warren Point, at Narrow-water-castle, a splendid seat within a noble demesne, belonging to the family of Hall, the principal proprietor in the neighbourhood. From Warren Point to the village of Rostrevor, the distance is about two miles, the road running the whole way close

along the shore of Carlingford Bay, until within a quarter of a mile of the village. Here it turns a little more inland; and, greatly to the disappointment of the admirer of fine views, soon leaves him at his hotel out of all sight of the bay and its bounding mountains.

It is the grand defect of Rostrevor as a watering place, that the chief accommodation for visitors is so completely cut off from the greatest of its attractions; a defect rendered the more intolerable, from the fact that its beautiful bay, though quite hidden, is known to be so very near. It is true that, between Warren Point and Rostrevor, and about a mile below it, there are a few lodging-houses commanding a full view of the bay; but there is no hotel there for the reception of casual visitors, and only very limited accommodation in the form of lodgings for more permanent residents. In the village of Rostrevor there is a very good hotel.

Carlingford Bay, taking it in its whole extent from the sea to Warren Point, is one of the most beautiful of the inland bays of Ireland. Inferior in size to many, as, for instance, Cork, Bantry, Kenmare, Belfast, its fine features are, by this very inferiority, more concentrated, as it were, and more within the visual and mental grasp: what it loses in grandeur it gains in beauty. It is about a mile and a half wide at its sea-gate, and runs up into the land rather more than seven Irish miles, of the

same medium breadth, though in parts wider in parts narrower. It is closely bounded on the whole of its southern shore by the chain of Carlingford and Newry mountains, and, over a considerable portion of its northern border, by the still more magnificent range of the Mourne mountains and Slievebane.

Though rising to a great elevation on both sides, the mountain-barriers of the bay slope gently for a large space at their base, so as to afford facility for cultivation; and the contrast of the white, chequered, and smiling fields with the lofty and dark summits above them, and with the bright blue mirror at their feet, adds wonderfully to the charm of the whole scene. As is the case with most of the other sea-bays of Ireland, this of Carlingford, in many of its aspects, assumes completely the character of an inland lake; its connection with the ocean not only being hid, but seeming to be utterly cut off by the apparently unbroken barrier of mountains which fill the seaward horizon. And I cannot help fancying, that the idea of unity and self-dependence thus created in the mind, strengthens the force of the impressions derived from the mere visual conceptions. Reason and Fancy gauge by different scales. To the former, the greater must be greater, be it what it may; to the latter, a lesser whole may be larger than a greater part. A perfect Lilliputian is a finer object than the torso of a Gulliver.

Although shut out from the immediate sight of the bay, the village of Rostrevor is itself beautifully situated. A short walk above it gives the command of the bay and its southern shores; and a short walk beyond it leads to its northern border, where it is overlooked by the beautifully-wooded breast of Slievebane. A fine terrace-road looking down on the water, skirts the base of this mountain, and leads seaward to Cranfield Point. A less elevated path leads westward along the beach towards Warren Point.

Although Rostrevor and Warren Point are a good deal frequented as watering places, the accommodations for bathing are of the rudest, and would not be tolerated in England. The ladies undress in little stone huts, like sentry boxes, erected on the beach, and walk from them into the water in their sea-costume: the gentlemen, in schoolboy-fashion, seek the shelter and vantage-ground of the rocks.

But looking on this place with an hygienic eye, I should say that the village of Rostrevor and its eastern suburbs, are much better calculated for a winter residence for invalids than for a place of summer enjoyment. Its distance from the actual and open sea, and its other local inconveniences, deprive it of much that our sea-seekers desiderate and find during the summer-months on the English shores. But completely defended as it is by its mountains against the colder quarters of the north and east, with its sheltered walks, all looking on

the water and to the south, and stretching over a surface at once varied and dry, I think it possesses the requisites of a winter-abode for the sufferers from chest-complaints, in almost as great perfection as they are to be found in any part of our islands. At any rate, I am sure, that with Queenstown and Rostrevor on their own shores, the doctors of Ireland may be excused for not sending their patients to any of our winter-retreats on the south coasts of England. For such patients, I think it would be difficult to find a finer winter-walk or drive, than that already mentioned which runs seaward from the village.

Rostrevor is grown into a small town, but seems to have grown more slowly than might have been expected from its attractions and its reputation. By the census of 1841 it had a population of 683, and by that of 1851 only 81 more, viz. 764. The population of the whole parish (Kilbroney) in 1834, was 4387, and so divided as to give to the district a decidedly Catholic character; the proportion of the different churches being as follows: Catholics, 3545; Established Church, 650; Presbyterians, 192. The beautiful park of Mr. Ross, the chief proprietor of the town, is close to the village, and extends up the front of the wooded Slievebane,—a member of the great range of the Mourne mountains which rise, in the peaks of Slieve Donard, to the great height of 2796 feet. Slievebane itself rises to the height of 1595 feet.

Between Rostrevor and Warren Point, in a field a short distance from the beach, there is a very handsome obelisk to the memory of General Ross, of the family already named, who was killed at Baltimore in 1814. This monument was raised at the expense of General Ross's brother officers. The Irish seem to have a preference for the obeliskar form of memorials; and when of sufficient size, as they usually are in Ireland, I think that the preference will be generally justified by the opinion of men of taste. As instances of this taste, I may name that on the field of the Battle of the Boyne; the Wellington memorial in the Phœnix Park; that raised at Armagh by Archbishop Robinson; and that near the Duke of Leinster's Park, recently raised by a lady—with the same object that influenced the Primate, viz. the employment of the people in a period of distress.

Warren Point may be considered as the port of Newry for all ships of large burthen; all those that go up to the town being obliged to unload partially here. It has a neat small harbour, and keeps up a constant intercourse with Liverpool by means of a steamer which crosses the channel twice a week. We saw one unloading which had just arrived. The more ordinary exports from Ireland are cattle, butter, eggs, and other articles of provision, while the imports are American flour, Indian corn, and manufactured goods of all sorts.

Warren Point is more than Rostrevor the

bathing-place of Newry, and has a small range of houses running along the shore, chiefly occupied by temporary residents for bathing purposes. It is a very common-looking place in itself, but attractive enough from the delightful views which it possesses of the bay and its bounding mountains. In 1841 it had a population of 1540, which had grown to 1769 in 1851. It contains a neat church, a Roman Catholic chapel, and one or two meeting-houses; and, according to the official return, their frequenters in 1834 were as follows: Established Church, 678; Catholics, 877; Presbyterians, 372.

Warren Point has an excellent National School for boys and girls. At the time of my visit the numbers were as follows: boys on the books, 88, present, 52; average attendance during the year, 63: girls on the books, 108; average attendance during the last month, 40. According to the last two Reports of the Commissioners, the returns were as follows: 1850—on the rolls, boys, 89; girls, 98: 1851—boys, 117; girls, 111. The whole of the children in both schools were Catholics. The patron or manager of the schools is the Catholic priest of the parish. At both these schools the weekly pence are rigidly exacted; and the master and mistress consequently derive from this source, respectively, 15*l.* and 13*l.* a year, in addition to their salaries of 24*l.* and 20*l.* Besides the national schools, there are two if not three other schools for Protestants, chiefly supported by Mr. and Mrs.

Hall, of Narrow-water Castle, the patrons of the town. I called at the girl's school, but found it had been recently given up; and I was told that the other Protestant schools had about 50 scholars between them.

Newry is a large and busy town, beautifully situated on the two banks of the Newry river, which here becomes tidal, and bears the name of 'The Narrow Water' from hence to Warren Point. It is situated partly in the county of Down and partly in that of Armagh, the river forming the boundary between them. The numerous bridges, rendered necessary to preserve due intercourse between the two portions of the town, and the quays and shipping within its limits, give to the whole place a picturesque and rather striking look. Some of the streets are large, and contain handsome houses; and the public buildings, including both the churches and chapels, are unusually good. Old Saint Patrick's Church, striking from its lofty site; and Saint Mary's, standing low, but with a splendid tower 190 feet high; are both fine buildings; and the Chapel, which serves as the Cathedral of the Roman Catholic diocese of Dromore, is also a handsome structure, as are, indeed, even the Presbyterian meeting houses. A finer view of a town than that of Newry from the railway on the South or Dublin side, is seldom to be seen; with Saint Patrick's tower, commanding the varied mass of houses below, and the beautifully-cultivated valley em-

bracing it on both sides. There is a very extensive trade, both domestic and foreign, carried on at Newry, it being the best frequented seaport between Belfast and Dublin. The population of the town in 1841 was 11,972; and in 1851, 13,435, a degree of increase, in the general depreciation of population, sufficiently indicative of the prosperity of the place.

Being under the authority of the inexorable rail, I had not time to pay my usual visits to the schools or poor-house of Newry; but I received some satisfactory information respecting one other of the ordinary subjects of my inquiry—Temperance.

Within these two years there has recommenced a movement in favour of the Total Abstinence system, which promises to make some amends, at least, for the comparative ruin of Father Mathew's structure, during the years of distress. There are now two societies, a Protestant and a Catholic, each supported by the clergy of the two denominations respectively. In this all the Protestants unite, the most active being two Presbyterian ministers and one Unitarian. The Protestant Association holds monthly meetings of the members, full 500 in number, in the Ebenezer school-room, and has *soirées* besides, which are much more numerously attended.

According to the Commissioners' Reports, there appear to be no less than eight national schools in Newry, reckoning the Model Schools as three. The

following are their names and the number of children on their respective rolls in the month of September during the last two years:

School.	1850			1851		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female	Total.
Model . . .	164	152	316	156	122	278
Infant ditto . .	76	42	118	70	50	120
Chapel Street . .	2 20	—	220	—	—	—
High Street . .	—	709	709	—	603	603
Abbey Yard . .	21	93	314	184	100	284
Ryan . . .	67	23	90	61	30	91
Total Children . .			1767			1376

The country traversed by the railway from Newry to Dundalk (a distance of about sixteen English miles,) is in general very picturesque. There is a beautiful mountainous ridge on both sides (not close) for many miles together; with smaller rocky elevations here and there, cut sheer across by the railway; a few occasional bogs; and the whole interspersed with fine patches of cultivation, both in the valley and on the hill sides. After passing Mount Pleasant Station, a few miles from Dundalk, the chain of mountains on either hand turns away to the east and west respectively, presenting a beautiful outline as they become dimmer, and finally vanish on the horizon.

At the Newry station, we were obliged to go into a second-class carriage, on account of all of the first class being occupied. This turned out to be a piece of good luck, as it proved the means of our

obtaining, for some distance, the company and conversation of two genuine Irish farmers, who joined us at a country station, on their way to Dundalk to do some business respecting their farms with the agents of their respective landlords. They were fine hearty middle-aged men, rudely but neatly dressed in the very model-costume of Irish farmers. They had grey frieze swallow-tailed long coats, spun, woven, and stitched in their own villages, with large metal buttons; brown corduroy shorts, with copious tape fastenings at the knees; and high-crowned hats, new-looking and unbruised. They were both on the same mission to seek a reduction of rent, though they held under different landlords, and were not previously known to each other. The landlord of one, Lord C—, was praised by his tenant as a good man, who never distrains for rent, though he (the tenant) thinks his rents are too high, and believes that they would be lowered but for the interference of the agent. The landlord of the other, Lord S—, (I have already noticed, I think, the immense proportion of peers or baronets among the proprietors in Ireland,) did not receive so fair a report from his tenant. Recently, just before the harvest began, he impounded fifty or sixty cattle on his estate, until the rents in arrear were paid. They were paid, though to the great loss of the farmers, as they were forced to sell some of the cattle at very disadvantageous prices, in order to obtain the money; whereas, if the landlord had waited till after

harvest, he could have been paid from its produce, the beasts being left for a better market. The farmer, however admitted, that though a hard man, Lord S—, was not a bad man. He had, of late years, sent a good many poor families off his property to America, and entirely at his own expense.

One of our companions rents a farm of twenty-five acres, for which he pays 56*l.* annual rent. This, he says, is more than it is worth; and the object of his present visit to the agent is to propose a reduction of four shillings in the pound. He says, if he fails in obtaining this reduction, he will throw the farm up, and take himself *off to America, with the help of the rent now due,* which, however, he is prepared at once to pay on the reduced scale. He does not regard such a proceeding as of the nature of a cheat, or as in any way unjust; the great improvement of the property effected by himself and his forefathers, being regarded as more than an equivalent for the loss of a year's rent. And he met the remonstrance I made against such conduct, by saying, that as his landlord had no formal document, proving a contract, he could not detain much less imprison him; though it was known to everybody that he and his fathers had lived on the farm for many generations.

The other farmer entirely coincided in the expediency and propriety of the conduct chalked out by his companion; and, perhaps, such opinions are hardly to be wondered at, knowing as we do, how

inevitably, not merely tyranny and oppression, but even simple injustice, long persevered in, (and this too, though the injustice may be the result of an old system rather than the wrong of an individual)—leads to the obscuration and perversion of truth in the minds of the sufferers.

The present relations between landlords and tenants seem to be universally felt in Ireland as a great evil. Even where no unfairness has been shown, and no wrong perpetrated, the mere feeling of the insecurity, the simple consciousness that the law, if put in force, will authorise what is a virtual wrong,—act on the feelings and the judgment, like tyranny and oppression. In considering the great and difficult question of tenant-right, it is most important to keep in sight the moral as well as the economical bearings of the old system.

On questioning these farmers as to what they meant by tenant-right, and what they sought for by its enactment as a law,—they made the same reply that I have received from all: Leases; reasonable rents; payment for beneficial improvements, according to the decision of two arbitrators, one chosen by the landlord the other by the tenant.

The distance from Dundalk to Drogheda by railway is about twenty-four English miles; and the country passed through may be generally characterised as a well-cultivated and unpicturesque plain. Many parts of the road are, however, sufficiently elevated to command fine views of the sea.

Drogheda is a large and fine town, much of the same general character as Newry, but presenting in its old gate, the remains of its broken walls, its ancient mounds and towers, a more venerable and antiquated appearance. It is also much larger than Newry, its population in 1841 being 17,300, and in 1851, 16,817. This decrease of population, though small, tells rather against the prosperity of a commercial town.

Like almost all the towns of Ireland, Drogheda has its noble river (the Boyne,) but wants the splendid inland frith with which the rivers are generally connected. However, the estuary though narrow is effective for navigation, the tide flowing several miles above Drogheda, and being navigable for large vessels as far as the town. Like Newry, it has a very considerable sea trade, and its harbour, at the time of our visit, was crowded with masts.

Drogheda presents many objects of interest for the antiquary, in its ruined churches; and its many little crooked streets (rather dirty, by the way,) will gratify this class of inquirers. But perhaps the most striking object in the place is one which possesses the very opposite kind of interest: I refer to the grand railway-bridge and viaduct now in process of construction across the valley of the Boyne, just below the town. The grand proportions, the massiveness, and the noble design of this great work, are, even in their present inchoate state, very striking; and I expect that when the whole is complete, it

will vie with any work of a like kind in the kingdom. Its central arch, or rather bridge, for it is flat, will be 95 feet above high water, and is made so elevated, not merely for the purpose of spanning the valley from hill to hill, but in order to allow the ships to pass under it to and from the quays. The expense of the work, which is being executed in the very best style, must be enormous; and although it will be a noble piece of art when finished, and highly ornamental to the town, it will probably occur to many to ask, why the railway-transit was not made above the town, where there is no shipping to be considered, and where the valley to be spanned is not half the depth? But the lovers of the picturesque and grand will not fail to rejoice, that the same spirit which seems to have generally prevailed in the planning of public works in Ireland, has animated the directors of the Dublin and Drogheda Railway also.

Judging from the relative amount of church accommodation in Drogheda, the old religion would seem still largely predominant in it; and this view is still more forcibly borne out by reference to the enumeration of the different religious sects in 1834. Thus, while there is now only one English Church besides the two Parish Churches, and one Presbyterian and one Methodist Chapel, there are no less than five Roman Catholic Chapels. By the enumeration of 1834, the different classes were set down as follows:—Church of England, 1375; Presby-

terians and Methodists, 265; Roman Catholics, 14,466; and I dare say the relations are not very different now.

My excursion to see Monasterboice and the locality of the battle of the Boyne, prevented me paying my usual visit to any of the schools. I therefore take the following particulars from the published Reports of the National Board. The numbers of scholars given in the Table are those on the books in the month of September, 1850 and 1851.

School.	1850			1851		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
St. Mary's . .	180	110	290	209	106	315
St. Peter's . .	—	249	249	—	388	388
Ditto, No. 2 . .	—	372	372	—	352	352
Infant . . .	—	263	263	—	365	365
Workhouse . .	202	154	356	214	179	393
Total . . .			1530			1813

The Temperance, or rather the Teetotal system, was once most triumphant in Drogheda, having, I was told, numbered at one time 7000 or 8000 members. The society was originally formed by the Presbyterian and Methodist ministers, and was afterwards taken up with singular zeal by a priest, Father Rourke, who conducted it most prosperously for four or five years. Its decay and breaking-up are said to have broken the heart of the good father. There are still two organised societies in the town, with benefit societies attached to them; but, together, they do not muster more than 60 members.

There is said, however, to be still in the town many Temperance men, although not connected with any distinct society, and the townspeople generally are said to be sober.

This being the last of the Memorandums I shall have to make respecting the system of TOTAL ABSTINENCE, or TEETOTALISM, in Ireland, I may be allowed, before finally dismissing the subject, to add a few remarks of a more general kind, respecting it.

I doubt not, that many of my readers will have regarded the perpetual recurrence of the notices on this matter, in so many pages of my book, as very unnecessary, at least, if not as actually reaching that high pitch of disagreeableness, vulgarly termed *bore-ing*. I believe, nevertheless, that I have ample justification in the very nature of the subject, for the course I have taken respecting it. If I willingly submit to the charge of tediousness in my narrative, I hope I shall be able to show, that I may claim for it the plea of usefulness.

If my memorandums on the local prevalence of Teetotalism, had had reference merely to the question of the present condition of a social movement involving a great change in the habits of a people, and comprehending, not many years since, a quarter part, at least, of the whole population of the country,—I submit that the inquiry would be one of no ordinary interest; but when

the change is of a kind, involving a point of practical morality, of great consequence to the well-being and happiness of those concerned in it, the matter rises far above the level of simple curiosity, and takes its ground among matters of national importance. And such, I think it must be admitted, was the great system of Pledged Teetotalism established by Father Mathew in Ireland.

It was no common event, to see millions of men, chiefly of the middle and lower classes, voluntarily abandoning a long and dearly-cherished habit of self-indulgence, and binding themselves by a vow to renounce it in the years to come; and it surely was a legitimate subject for investigation, to seek to ascertain how the great movement had fared during the years that have elapsed since its origin. There are not many events in the social history of nations more remarkable than this great crusade of Father Mathew against intemperance; and it is believed that, like all similar outbursts of a general enthusiasm, prompting to deeds of a noble or heroic kind, its effects can never entirely pass away. The current may run itself out; the waters may entirely subside; but the deposits they leave behind will fertilize the soil for ages.

My memorandums clearly establish the fact, that the great banded army of Pledged Abstainers from intoxicating drinks, has been long broken in pieces, and the numbering of the host has come down from millions to thousands, and from thou-

sands to hundreds. They show, however, at the same time, that though the organisation is gone, the influence of the movement for good, has survived its formal existence. It has left Ireland, comparatively speaking, a temperate nation; and the seeds scattered by it thoughout the land in its days of triumph, are now, after lying dormant for a season, springing up everywhere with a broader root and a firmer stem. The encouragers and directors of the new arrangements, discarding the dangerous aid of enthusiasm, now strive to base them on the safer ground of reason and experience; and although they advise and accept pledges, as useful auxiliaries, more especially in the commencement, they depend for permanent success much more on a man's convictions of what is for his own good, than on his word of promise.

I have strong hope, founded on my own limited observation and inquiries—as recorded in these volumes—that Ireland, within a period of not many years, will once more exhibit the gratifying spectacle of a whole people,—not indeed repudiating altogether the use of strong drinks, yet consuming them in an amount so small as may be called marvellous, when compared with their present truly astounding and most disgraceful abuse in England and Scotland.

It would be quite superfluous here or anywhere to adduce evidence in proof of the manifold and boundless evils produced by intemperance among the lower classes in this country; or of

the incalculable benefits accruing to those among them who have had the good fortune permanently to abandon a decidedly intemperate course of life. Every one who has had only a very moderate intercourse with the working-classes of our great towns, must have personally come to the knowledge of instances of the most decisive kind in both categories; while the social statistics of all our towns, the returns of all our police stations, the records of all our criminal courts, the opinion of all our Judges, concur in announcing the same melancholy truth, that drunkenness is the source of more that half the criminal acts that disgrace our time.

In such a state of things, surely no one will regard plans calculated to meet, in any way, so tremendous an evil, as unworthy of consideration and encouragement. And hitherto, most certainly, no plan has been hit on, at all comparable in point of efficacy, with that of the system of Teetotalism. It ought therefore, I maintain, to be not merely countenanced, but encouraged and supported by all who have the welfare of their fellow-countrymen at heart.

Although myself a rigid but unpledged Teetotaller now of old date, I by no means regard all indulgence—even of the most moderate kind—in every form of strong drink, as necessarily injurious to human health and human happiness, and therefore to be repudiated as a positive crime in social

economy and in morals. I certainly believe that mankind in general would be healthier and happier without the use of intoxicating drinks, in any form or amount; and that there are very few persons to whom they are really useful, as a part of the ordinary regimen of health; yet I see no great harm, either of a physical or moral kind, in a strictly moderate or temperate use of them by those by whom they are relished, and with whose bodily or mental comfort they do not immediately interfere. The human constitution is much too elastic, and too well fitted by nature for sustaining influences of a varied kind, to be seriously injured by such small deviations from the rule of strict propriety. But I will go further than this, and say that the man who so uses them—that is, the man who adheres inflexibly to the rule of rigid temperance in their use—may claim the merit of a higher and more philosophical resolution than the man who entirely abstains from them; inasmuch as it is infinitely more easy to practice total abstinence than rigid temperance.

It is, therefore, on the plain, practical ground of expediency alone, and not on that of abstract principle, that I advocate the system of Teetotalism; believing it, and indeed knowing it, to be the only means of attaining the habit of temperance in the use of strong drinks, among the great mass of mankind, in the present state of society. Experience of the most ample and varied kind has

proved to demonstration, that all attempts to establish systematically the practice of perfect moderation in the use of alcoholic drinks among the working-classes of this country, have utterly and invariably failed; while the same kind of experience, but infinitely more extensive, has proved the perfect facility with which the system of total abstinence, when once adopted, may be maintained. I do not admit that the disruption of the grand system of Father Mathew is to be regarded as contradicting this statement. His movement was altogether unique, and not to be judged by ordinary rules. My present reference is directed more particularly to the lengthened experience obtained in Great Britain, under ordinary circumstances. This latter system, therefore,—I repeat the assertion,—is one which has as strong claims on the support and patronage of good men, as any plan or project that has ever yet been devised for the immediate and substantial benefit of the lower classes of society.

It is possible that when education, in the full sense of the word, has achieved all its destined triumphs, a condition of society may arise that shall require no such artificial aid to save men from the degrading vice of drunkenness; but for the present, some such help is absolutely necessary even to check its future growth, to say nothing of reducing its present enormity within limits less disgraceful to our country and our age.

But, after all, Teetotalism, like the system of Poor Law spoken of in a preceding Chapter, is nothing, at the best, but a poor expedient,—a rude empirical nostrum, calculated merely to afford temporary relief to one of the symptoms of a malady which has its essential elements in the very constitution of our imperfect civilization: to effect its eradication we must look to its causes, and modify them at least, if we cannot quite remove them.

This is not the place to enter on such a subject, nor is mine the pen to touch so high a theme; but before concluding these observations, I must be allowed briefly to advert to a point which I and others have always regarded as one of the chief sources of drunkenness, as well as of many other of the worst vices of our people,—I mean, the want of more rational occupation for the mind during the hours and days of relaxation. Where else, in truth, have our poor workmen to go,—what else have they to do, during those dreary days and hours, but to seek the only haunts whose doors are open to them, and the only amusements which are within the reach of their means, or within the grasp of their intellectual capacity?

Shocking and humiliating as is the following picture of our peasantry and the lower classes of our town-population, it must be admitted by all acquainted with the subject, to be true to the letter:—

"In England, it may be said that the poor have now no relaxation, but the alehouse or the gin-palace. It is a sad thing to say of a

people; but, alas! it is too true. The good old country games of the times of our forefathers are forgotten. The class of yeomanry or small proprietors which used to keep them up have disappeared. The cricket matches, wrestling matches, running matches, shooting matches, and dances, which formed some of the healthy sports of our peasantry in former times, are now, as far as the peasantry are concerned, abandoned and forgotten; and the commons and greens, where they were once held, have been nearly all enclosed. Nor is this because our peasants have exchanged their healthy country pastimes for any of a more civilised character. They do not generally amuse themselves with gardening, for they have seldom any gardens. They do not practise music together, as they have no opportunities of learning it, and they are too poor to make it worth the while of good bands to travel among the villages, as is the case in Germany. It may, therefore, be said that, as a general rule, our peasants have no other amusement or relaxation than that unhealthy and demoralising one—the tavern. There they acquire intemperate habits; there they spend a great part of the earnings of their families; there they excite one another to rick-burnings, to poaching, and to low debauchery; and there the younger men learn all kinds of immorality from the older and more hardened frequenters.

"The crowds of low pot-houses in our manufacturing districts is a sad and singular spectacle. They are to be found in every street and alley of the towns, and in almost every lane and turning of the more rural villages of those districts, if any of those villages can be called rural. The Magistrates and Judges, who administer law in those parts of our island, unanimously affirm, that almost all the crime committed there originates in these taverns. The habit of drunkenness pervades the masses of the operatives to an extent never before known in our country. The spare hours of the Sunday, and of many of the week days, are spent in these *pleasure* houses. Chartism, Socialism, and all the political theories of an unenlightened people are fostered and stimulated in these places. The political clubs are held there. The political demagogues harangue there. The public morality is destroyed there. The operatives, generally speaking, have no other relaxation or amusement than tavern-frequenting, and they are often too much demoralised to desire any other."—*Kay, on the Social Condition, &c. of the People,* vol. i., pp. 231-2.

And this is the condition of a people, from whom many of the men specially set apart for their mental

and spiritual improvement, are striving, by every means in their power, to take away all rational enjoyment and amusement, on the only day of the week in which their lot of labour allows them to partake of them! This is the state of things in the towns to which it is sought to confine the working-classes from one year's end to the other, by abolishing the means of transport from their reeking impurities, physical and moral, to the open air and innocent amusements of the country!

It is indeed difficult for a man only moderately versed in the knowledge of human nature, in all its parts, to conceive how doctrines issuing in such monstrous practical absurdities as these, could be entertained by men of education. The explanation can only be this,—that though men of education, they are not duly instructed in a knowledge of much that appertains to man's physical and moral nature, and that, in their zeal to promote mere technical religion, they overlook some of the very foundations of morality and virtue. They are like the charlatans in physic, to whom I have so often referred for illustration: they rely on the mystic action of a nostrum of imaginary power, instead of employing means that embrace the whole disease and heal it radically.

The grand fundamental element in such means is, unquestionably, EDUCATION, to fit the mind for the intelligent reception of truth and knowledge in every form, and to raise its tastes above the level of

low debauchery. And I hold it to be no mean part of education to seek to preserve the bodily and mental health, by the substitution, wherever it is practicable, of rational recreation and amusement, for the disgusting and debasing vices to which our working population are most addicted. Therefore, while calling on the friends of the system of Total Abstinence, to persevere in their noble efforts, I would also call on all who have the interests of the people at heart, to resist to the utmost the attempts now making to confine the working-men of our towns to the musty air of our streets, and the still more pestiferous atmosphere of the gin-shops, on the Sunday afternoon; and to promote every means of affording them not mere education, formally so called, but all kinds of innocent recreation and amusement during the evenings and spare hours of the other days of the week.

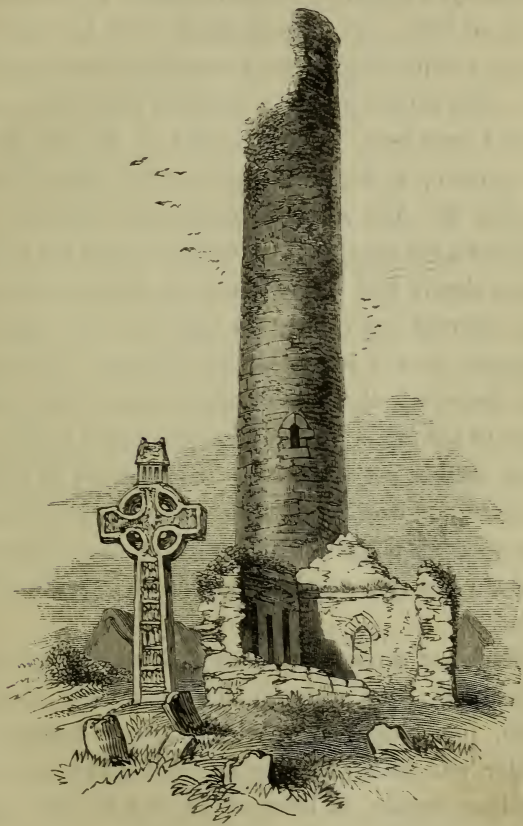
An admirable step in this direction has been made in Ireland, by the very general establishment of Temperance Halls in connection with the individual associations of Teetotallers, in the different towns. This is a practice which ought to be more generally adopted in England and Scotland than it is; and obvious improvements might be made in such institutions, by giving them a still more attractive character than they at present possess,—by constituting them, in fact, the Clubs of the Working-Men. Organised as they would be under the rigid rule of Temperance, no substantial objections could

be made against their being open on the afternoons and evenings of Sunday as well as the other days of the week, as it could not be doubted that it would not be the Churches so much as the Gin-Palaces that they would empty.

I would further suggest to some of my richer Teetotal friends, the expediency of making the experiment of opening Temperance Hotels at the country places most visited by the working-classes of the great towns on Sundays; as, for instance, at Greenwich, Richmond, Windsor, &c., for the Londoners. By making such places much more attractive than the ordinary public-houses, by their superior conveniences, comforts, and cheapness, I believe they would rob many of the former of their habitual visitors, and would thus tend to remove the only rational objection I have ever heard urged against the country excursions of our Londoners on the Sunday afternoons.

Monasterboice (which is said to be the modern corruption of the ancient name of *Mainistir-Buithe, Monaster-Boece,* Monastery of St. Boetius) is about three Irish miles from Drogheda, and will well repay a visit to it. The ruins, which consist of the remains of two small churches, sundry lofty stone-crosses, and a round tower, are all contained within a little square piece of ground surrounded by a low wall, standing quite solitary amid the half-cultivated fields. This its perfect isolation and loneliness, remote from all

sound of living thing, yet with the recent handiwork of man all around it, adds greatly to the strength of the mingled impressions which the singular ruins themselves must always inspire. They seem not only to lead the mind back to the long-past ages when they formed, as it were, a part of



Monasterboice.

the system of life and living things amid which they were placed, but to bring down to us and to our own system of life and action, those very ages themselves.

The Round Tower, as shown in the woodcut on the preceding page, has been shattered and broken at its top, partly, it is said, by lightning, partly by the slower action of time. It is understood to be 110 feet in height, and its circumference near the ground is about 50. The entrance to this tower is lower than any other I have seen, being only five or six feet above the ground; so that it proved no very difficult task to enter it. The whole of the interior walls are as well-hewn and smooth as the exterior; and the stones are so closely laid one on another, and so well cut, that scarcely any cement is visible. The internal diameter, at the height of the doorway, is barely nine feet—viz. three rather short paces. The whole space to the top is perfectly hollow, and I could discover neither projections nor indentations by means of which any flooring or scaffolding could be erected. The doorway is formed of sandstone, and is round-headed; the rest of the tower is built of a slaty rock.

There are three great stone crosses in this lonely churchyard; two still standing; the other thrown down, (our guide said, by Cromwell,) broken in sunder and sadly mutilated. The largest of the standing crosses is between 19 and 20 feet high, bold and massive, and sculptured, front, back, and

sides, with innumerable figures in high relief, and every angle and vacant space filled up with the most delicate ornamental tracery. The other is only between 14 and 15 feet high, but is still finer in its sculpture and ornaments.

The old man who waited our approach to Monasterboice, and would insist upon acting the part of cicerone, designated these crosses respectively, by the names of St. Boyce's, St. Patrick's, and St. Colmkilla,—this last being the name of the saint of the broken cross of Cromwell. It appears, however, that the learned have deciphered the old Irish inscription on the smaller of the standing crosses, which tells of its erection to the memory of a certain abbot of the place, by name Murdoch, who, on it, requests of the passer-by a prayer for his soul. The exact date of the erection is not ascertained, owing to the circumstance of there having been two abbots of this name, one of whom died in the year 844, and the other in the year 923; it seems certain that it was erected in memory of one of the two.[1]

These crosses are assuredly to be reckoned among the most interesting remains of antiquity anywhere to be seen; and it is impossible for any one, be his creed what it may, to look on them without emotion and a feeling of veneration;—standing up thus loftily and lonely amid the grass of that deserted grave-yard, old and weather-worn, yet still beautiful, grand, and awful, as becomes the sacred and

[1] Petrie's Memoir on the Round Towers.

mighty symbol, in whose name half the world has been ruled so long.

Being so near the field of the famous battle of the Boyne, we went a few miles out of our way to visit it on our return to Drogheda. Interesting as this locality is to the English politician, it possesses also considerable attractions to the mere sight-seer, as a piece of wood-and-river scenery. The obelisk in memory of the battle is erected on a singular isolated rock on the left bank of the river, and is rather an elegant structure. It is said to be 150 feet high, and adds not a little to the impressiveness of the natural landscape.

We left Drogheda after dark, between eight and nine o'clock, and reached Dublin at ten.

CHAPTER XII.

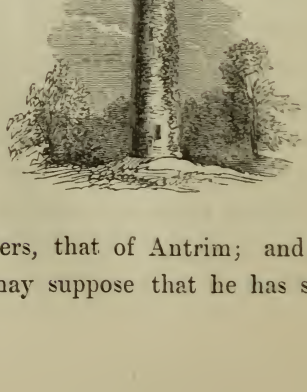
THE ROUND TOWERS OF IRELAND.

Having, with the Tower of Monasterboice, taken leave, for the present, of those most singular monuments of antiquity, The Round Towers of Ireland, it seems fitting, at least, if not imperative, that something of a more general kind should here be said respecting them. This would be appropriate, if it were merely to commemorate in these pages, the strong impression made by them on the writer's mind, as, one after another, they presented themselves to notice, in so many and such distant parts of the country travelled. Of all the relics of antiquity still preserved in Ireland—I had almost said in Europe—there are none which, in my mind, can vie in point of attractiveness with these Towers. No one who sees but once their beautiful, lofty, and slender shafts shooting up into the sky, and dominating in solitary grandeur, the surrounding landscape—all strikingly resembling one another and resembling nothing else—but must be struck with admiration and curiosity of the liveliest kind. And yet these primary feelings are but slight in degree,

when compared with those which are excited by the consideration of all the extraordinary circumstances involved in their history.

That these Towers have existed, or, at least, the majority of them, for upwards of a thousand years, is certain; that they may have existed twice or thrice this period is far from improbable; but that the era of their origin and the object of their erection remain as secrets yet to be unfolded, are circumstances which only add to the mysterious interest which attaches to them. It may be hoped, therefore, that the following notices, though containing nothing new, will not be considered as foreign to a work which professes to record whatever appeared to a stranger most note-worthy in Ireland.

In the adjoining small woodcut we have an accurate representation of one of the most perfect



of these towers, that of Antrim; and seeing this, the reader may suppose that he has seen all. It

will be immediately shown, that they do vary considerably in size, and slightly in form, and more or less in some of their minuter details; but certainly their striking resemblance one to another, is one of their most remarkable features.

The number of Round Towers at present existing in Ireland, in a more or less perfect state, is said to be between seventy and eighty, of which number about twenty only are in complete preservation; the rest being more or less injured or decayed. They are to be found in every county of Ireland except six, and are spread over its whole extent, east, west, north, and south. The following is a synopsis of the present heights of all I have been able to find an account of:

Height in feet.	Number of Towers.	Height in feet.	Number of Towers.
From 100 to 130	7	From 50 to 60	3
„ 90 to 100	5	„ 40 to 50	1
„ 80 to 90	4	„ 30 to 40	2
„ 70 to 73	5	„ 20 to 30	2
„ 60 to 66	5	„ 7 to 20	5

Ledwich gives the following as the circumference near the base, of twelve of the towers:

No. of Towers.	Girth in feet.	No. of Towers.	Girth in feet.
1	55	2	48
2	54	1	47
1	53	1	44
1	51	1	41
1	50	1	38

The same author gives the following as the varying thickness of the walls in twelve of them :

	Feet.	Inches.		Feet.	Inches.
One . .	4	8	Three . .	3	8
One . .	4	4	Four . .	3	6
One . .	4	0	Two . .	3	0

In Clondalkin Tower, so carefully measured by Mr. Petrie, there is a difference of 14 inches between the thickness of the walls in the lower and the upper story. Speaking of them generally, this author, the latest and best authority, says they vary in height from 50 to 150 feet, and from 40 to 60 feet in circumference. He also says, that they have usually a circular projecting base, consisting of one, two, or three steps or plinths. None of the five towers examined by me had any appearance of this kind. In a few cases (one or two) the base is considerably wider than the rest of the shaft (as, for instance, in Clondalkin Tower) ; but, generally, they begin to taper from the very foundation, but so gently, that the diminution is only perceptible when you look upwards and take in the whole structure at one glance : then you see the gradual diminution of size from bottom to top. In Clondalkin Tower, which is 85 feet 9 inches high, the difference between the internal diameter of the lower story and the upper is ten inches, the former being 7 feet 4 inches, the latter 6 feet 6 inches.

The entrance or doorway of the Towers is always,

or with two exceptions at most, a considerable distance from the ground or base of the tower, varying, Mr. Petrie says, from 8 to 30 feet. Mr. Ledwich gives the precise heights (in feet) of the doorways in eleven, as follows: 2, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, $11\frac{1}{2}$, 13, 13, 14, 24.

Besides the doorway, the shafts of the Towers are pierced by small square apertures or windows, at intervals of 12 feet or thereabouts, through the whole height of the Tower. These windows are rarely, if ever, placed in a perpendicular line above one another, but irregularly on different sides. Immediately beneath the conical summit, however, there is a series of these windows on the same level, all round; almost always four, but in two cases, six. Sometimes, but not always, the four windows face the four cardinal points of the compass. These upper windows seem to be generally larger than those below: thus, in Clondalkin Tower, while the windows in the shaft are only 2 feet 2 inches high, those under the eaves are 3 feet 7 inches. When complete, the Towers are covered in by a very thick conical roof of stone, ending in a sharp point, and with slightly-projecting eaves below.

In the whole of their height above the immediate base, the Towers are invariably round; the stones of which they are composed being generally neatly chiselled, so as to fit the circular line. The stones vary in quality, apparently according to the nature of the local rock.

In the Towers I have examined, there is very little appearance of mortar between the stones, either without or within, the bare surfaces of the stones, for the most part, touching each other; but a close examination always can detect cement, particularly in the interior. In the Tower of Monasterboice, which is composed of a slaty rock, it was with great difficulty that mortar could be detected either on the outside or within.

Often the door-jambs and door-top are of a different stone from the rest of the building, and are, in a few cases, ornamented and sculptured.

All the Towers, except, I think, three, are externally perfectly smooth, and unornamented from base to summit. Of the three exceptional Towers, that of Ardmore has three prominent belts or string-courses between the doorway and upper windows; that of Dysart has one belt; and that of Devenish, as formerly stated, has an ornamental cornice with four sculptured heads just below the eaves of the roof.

Generally speaking, the opening of the doorway is very small, say a couple of feet wide and double that in height, so as to be capable of admitting only one person at a time. In a few, however, the doors are larger; that, for instance, of Clondalkin Tower, is no less than five feet four inches high. No doors have been found on any of them; but in some there are said to be holes in the jambs as if for the admission of bolts.

The only two Towers whose interior I inspected (Cashel and Monasterboice) seemed to me, in looking upward, to present a perfectly smooth and unbroken surface, as if they had never been planned for any kind of flooring; but it appears that, on closer examination, all the towers, or nearly all, possess, in the vertical spaces between the windows, some kind of rests or supports for the fixing of floors; and, indeed, two or three possess floors at the present day.

The mode in which the floors were attached was either by letting the ends of the joists into holes in the wall, or by resting them on separate projecting stones, or on prominent ledges running round the whole interior circumference.

The number of floors varied, according to the height of the Tower, from three to eight; the more common number was five or six. The windows correspond with the different floors, each floor having one window. The height of the interior stories would thus be, on an average, about twelve feet. According to the measurements given of Clondalkin Tower, the following are the heights of the different floors, beginning at the base :—12 feet 5 inches; 14 feet; 13 feet; 18 feet; 9 feet 6 inches.

At whatever height the doorway is placed, the lower or ground floor has been found nearly on a level with this, or only a few feet below it; and in most of those whose interior has been explored, the portion of the interior below the doorway has been

found filled up with stones or solid masonry. In several which have been cleared out to the bottom, skeletons, more or less perfect, decayed bones, &c., have been found, seeming to show that the Towers were occasionally, at least, used as cemeteries, whatever other purpose or purposes they may have served.

The doorways are for the most part formed of unornamented stones; but in two of them (Kildare and Timahoe) they are richly ornamented with sculpture; and in two others (Antrim and Donoughmore) there are rude crosses sculptured above them.

Before noticing the numerous and varied speculations respecting the origin and uses of the Round Towers, it is important to know how far back their existence can be traced in anything like an authentic manner. It will be a sufficient justification of a good deal of our interest in them, if we can satisfy ourselves that they are many centuries old, though we may fail to prove that their origin extends back into remote antiquity. It would be something to know with certainty that St. Patrick or even Brian Boroihme had been among their contemporaries, though we may fail to carry them back to the days of Zoroaster or Pharoah.

Of the existence of these Towers in the twelfth century we have the positive testimony of an eye-witness, Giraldus Cambrensis; and of their previous existence we have, if not positive testimony, certainly a most strong presumption in the belief of

the Irish of that day, reported by the same authority. This author, who wrote about the year 1185, after noticing the legend of the miraculous formation of Lough Neagh from the overflowing of a certain fountain unfortunately left open when it should have been covered, tells us, as a reason for believing in the story, that the fishermen belonging to the lake were in the habit of pointing out the Round Towers of the submerged district still standing beneath the water. "We have probable grounds for believing in this event (he says), because the fishermen on this lake can, in clear weather, distinctly see beneath the water *Ecclesiastical towers, which, according to the fashion of the country, are narrow, round, and lofty,* and frequently show the same to the wondering strangers passing that way."[1]

Everybody knows the charming use made of this legend by Moore in one of his Melodies:

"On Lough Neagh's banks as the fisherman strays
When the clear cold eve's declining,
He sees the Round Towers of other days
In the waves beneath him shining:

Thus memory, often, in dreams sublime,
Has a glimpse of the days that are over;
Thus, sighing, looks through the waves of time
For the long-faded glories they cover."

[1] Hujus autem eventus argumentum est non improbabile, quod piscatores aquæ illius turres ecclesiasticas quæ more patriæ arctæ sunt et altæ nec non et rotundæ sub undis manifeste sereno tempore conspiciunt; et extraneis transeuntibus reique causas [casum] admirantibus frequenter ostendunt.—Topog. Hibern. in Camden. Distinctio II, cap. ix.

The celebrated Irish scholar, Dr. O'Connor, asserts positively that they are noticed in Irish legends as old as the seventh century:—"Procul dubio TURRES in antiquissimis Hiberniorum Carminibus memorantur," and instances some such, "scripta Seculo VII." The ancient chronicle, termed the 'Ulster Annals,' under the year 448, speaks of an earthquake "by which seventy-five Towers were destroyed or injured;" but, of course, it may be questioned whether the towers referred to were necessarily Round Towers. In many parts of the old written annals of Ireland we have accounts of the assault and burning of many Belfries or Fortresses between the tenth and twelfth centuries; but whether these were really Round Towers or not, depends on the meaning of the word *Cloichteach*, respecting which the learned antiquaries of Ireland are not of accord. Some contend that the structures so called, were not the Round Towers properly so named, but separate Belfries connected with the churches, and made of wood. It seems certain that the Irish term *Cloichteach* was applied to mere strong-holds or towers without bells, as is incidentally mentioned by Mr. Petrie in noticing an ancient Irish narrative respecting Charlemagne.

Perhaps one of the strongest testimonies in favour of the early existence of these Towers is the fact that Mr. Petrie himself, so strong an advocate of their comparatively recent origin, contends for

the construction of one of them as early as the sixth century.

Taking all these statements into account, together with many other notices, historical and legendary, adduced by Irish writers on this subject, it hardly admits of question that, whatever may have been the exact period at which these Towers were built, they certainly existed at a period as remote as a thousand years from the present time. And it may be added that, from the perfect preservation in which many of them are still found, no argument can be adduced, on the score of durability, against their existence for double that period of time,—an opinion actually maintained by many of the best authorities who have investigated the subject.

Knowing them to have existed a thousand years comparatively uninjured by time, we must admit, *à fortiori*, their capacity to have endured another thousand years, the earlier of the two periods. Among the numerous authorities who take this view of the question, we may mention the poet Moore, who thus speaks of them in his History of Ireland:—"The truth is that neither then [the sixth and seventh centuries] nor, I would add, at any other assignable period within the whole range of Irish history, is such a state of things known authentically to have existed, as can solve the difficulty of these Towers, or account satisfactorily, at once, for the object of the buildings and the advanced civilisation of the architects who erected them. They

must therefore be referred to times beyond the reach of historical record."

For this very remote origin of the Towers, however, it must be owned that there is no historical or even traditional evidence, though there are many and strong inferences and arguments both of a positive and negative kind. Into this discussion it will not be expected that we can here enter, except in so far as may be incidental to the exposition of the various views which remain to be stated respecting the objects or purposes for which these singular structures were erected.

The different parties to whom the erection of these Towers has been attributed, may be said, in general terms, to be three:—1, the ancient Orientals; 2, the European Pagans of the middle ages; 3, the early Christians.

1. The Orientals assumed as the builders of the Towers, are the Indians, Persians, Phœnicians. No very special attempt has been made to account for the remarkable exodus of colonies of one or other of these people into the extreme west, nor to fix the period of their immigration into Ireland. The theory has been invented in the difficulty of antiquarianism to account for the existence of the Towers on native or national grounds, and in the belief that the religion and religious institutions of those countries supply materials for overcoming these difficulties.

The purposes and uses of the Towers, on the

Oriental theory, are said to be one or other, or one or more, of the following:—

a. They were Mithraic or Fire Temples, for containing the sacred fire in the emblematic worship of the Sun and Moon, according to the ancient Persian religion.

b. They were Astronomical Observatories, conjoined with or distinct from the Mithraic worship.

c. They were Buddhist Temples; and in themselves emblems of the Phallic worship connected therewith.

The principal arguments in favour of one or other of these appropriations, are the following:—1, the great fitness of the general structure of such Towers for containing sacred fire; 2, the facility of preserving the inviolability of the fire, by means of the elevated entrances; a form of structure still said to exist—and for the same purpose—in the Parsee temples; 3, the alleged existence of ancient Towers of a similar character, and still to be found in various parts of the east, and appropriated to one or more of the purposes mentioned.

I cannot but think, that what ought to be and is supposed to be, the most powerful of these arguments, viz., the existence of analogous structures in the East, is really very weak. Reckoning all the Towers mentioned by travellers, as bearing a greater or less resemblance to the Irish Towers, I do not believe they amount to more than half a dozen or half a score at most. Now, if these Towers were

connected with a wide-spread religion, as is alleged, is it not astonishing that they should be so extremely rare there, and so plentiful in Ireland? It has been alleged that they were all destroyed by the Mahomedan conquerors of these countries. But have we any historic evidence of this?

It is certainly one of the most extraordinary facts connected with these Towers, and one that seems inexplicable on any of the theories yet advanced, that structures of this precise and peculiar character should be almost exclusively confined to Ireland; should be quite exclusively confined to it as a class of buildings of general prevalence. The only structures of precisely the same kind to be found in Europe are, I believe, two in Scotland, one at Brechin and one at Abernethy; but the utter obscurity that hangs over the origin of these, leaves the dark question of the Irish Towers without any additional illustration.

2. The European Pagans, supposed to be the authors of the Towers, are the Druids and the Danes.

a. The Druids are supposed to have erected them for the exercise of their religious rites, especially some believed to be connected with proclamations to the people—a purpose for which the loftiness of the Towers would offer great facilities.

It is a sufficient argument against this theory, that all druidical remains, of an architectural kind, existing throughout Europe—and they are numerous—are of such rude inferiority, as necessarily

presupposes the inability among this people to erect such elaborate structures as the Towers; an argument still further strengthened by the fact of the non-existence of any such structures in other European countries, as much frequented by the Druids as Ireland was.

b. The Danes, then Pagans, are supposed by the supporters of the other theory, to have erected them as fortresses, to enable them to secure their conquests in Ireland. The arguments against this theory are the following:—1, that the Danish invasion did not take place, according to Giraldus, before the year 838, long before which date we have almost positive evidence of the existence of the Towers; 2, that no Towers are found near Waterford and other places most occupied by the Danes; 3, that the Danes, in their own country, and in other countries conquered by them, as England, erected no such structures.

c. I include the Cemetery theory in this Pagan category, although it seems to belong as probably to the Christian, or to both. This theory, which would appropriate the Towers as monuments for the dead, whether kings, warriors, or saints, has, of late years, received great additional support, from the fact of the remains of the dead being discovered in almost all the Towers which have been thoroughly explored. If they had not been specially destined to this end from the first, it is not easy to believe, that the sacredness or exclusiveness of any

other primary destination, would have allowed of this cemeterial use, as an incidental or secondary appropriation. This consideration seems, therefore, to give additional probability to the theory that would classify the Towers with the Egyptian pyramids and the numerous other grand cemeterial monuments of the mighty dead, which have signalized our race in all ages and all countries.

3. The theory that ascribes the origin of the Round Towers to the Christians of the early centuries, comprehends several different views as to their original purpose or use.

a. One of these, and certainly not the least probable, is that which attributes them to the primitive Cænobites or Conventual Christian Brothers, who are believed to have reached Ireland from the east, in the sixth and seventh centuries. They are supposed to have erected the Towers, with the aid of the newly-converted kings and toparchs, as fortresses or strongholds, wherein to secure, in time of war and danger, the sacred utensils, relics, dresses, books, &c., belonging to those churches in whose immediate neighbourhood they stood. If such was their purpose, surely no kind of structure could be more suited for attaining it, at the supposed period of their erection. Against a mere rapid or temporary attack, which gave time for only the briefest preparation, they would be almost impregnable; while the persons within possessed the means of great annoyance to the besiegers. Their diminu-

tive and lofty doorway being barred within, the massive structure could only be assailed in two ways, either by assaulting the wall with quarrying instruments, or by attempting to force the doorway, after reaching it with ladders. In either case, the simple dropping of large stones from the windows, commanding the whole circumference of the Tower, would prove decisive against such assaults.

An argument supposed to be conclusive has been adduced against the Cænobitic origin of the Towers; but which appears to be easily met with counter arguments of equal force at least. This argument is, the extreme improbability that people who were content to see their churches built of wattles or rough-hewn wood, should have ever thought of erecting, or could have had the knowledge to erect, such elaborate and finished structures as the Towers. Now, it may be replied—1st, that in such a state of society as is here supposed, these fortresses were of more pressing necessity than stone churches; 2d, that admitting that the churches of the time were built of wood, such strongholds would be essential to the security of the religious community attached to them; certainly more essential than in later times, when these churches were themselves capable of resisting mere predatory attacks; 3d, that the very premiss assumed, viz. that these Cænobites had come from the east, that is, from some civilized country, presupposes their capacity to rear such structures,

or at least structures as substantial and elaborate as the Round Towers.

b. A second of the Christian appropriations is the Stylitic theory, which would convert the Towers into anchorite pillars, for the display of such pious impiety as was exhibited by the pillar-saints of the east, and particularly by the famous Simeon of the Pillar, or Stylites. Numerous and obvious arguments demolish this absurd theory. We need only mention two:—1st, the total unfitness of the Towers for the purpose of such display; and 2d, their great numbers. Even if the tops of these Towers, instead of being sharp and conical, had been flat, and so suited to the aerial phantasies of those absurd devotees, can we believe that human folly could be so prevalent and so profuse, as to erect such a multitude of these expensive buildings for such a purpose; or that hundreds of such fanatics could have been found "playing their fantastic tricks before high heaven" within the bounds of one little island? Impossible.

c. The theory that would appropriate the Towers for penitential purposes of another kind, viz. as "stations," wherein, beginning at the top, the penitent might gradually fast and pray his way downwards to the door, to receive absolution, is so purely gratuitous, and so totally unsupported by arguments, that it cannot claim any consideration.

d. The theory that regards them as monuments erected in honour of the early founders of Chris-

tianity in Ireland, may very properly be blended with that of the Cemetery theory already noticed; as all analogy would lead us to believe that such monuments would naturally enclose the remains of those in whose honour they were erected.

e. The Beacon or Watch-tower theory, considered in its speculatorial or warlike relations, and independently of its ecclesiastical or local bearings, seems at once put aside by the notorious fact of the local position of the towers—few of them, I think, being placed in such localities as would render them particularly useful as means of warning the country round, and many of them being placed in situations the very reverse of those which would be chosen for such a purpose. In another point of view, however, that is, regarded as local beacons to guide the inmates of the establishment, or the benighted traveller, in dark nights, to the shelter afforded by the monastery near which they were placed, their designation as beacons, as well as their utility, might be fairly admitted; but we can hardly believe that such costly structures would be erected for so comparatively slight a purpose, more particularly as the same end might have been attained by more ordinary means.

f. The appropriation of these Towers as keeps or fortresses for assuring safety to the ecclesiastics and the treasures of the churches near which they were erected, has been already noticed in reference to the earliest periods of Christianity in Ireland. The consi-

deration of this appropriation is here renewed under another aspect, viz., as connected with the more advanced period, when stone churches, and, indeed, churches of elaborate architecture, were general in Ireland. The great advocate of this theory is Mr. Petrie, who, however, considers that the appropriation next to be noticed, that of the belfry, went hand in hand with it, both in the original plan and in the subsequent practice. I have nothing to add to what has been already stated respecting this appropriation, except that if the theory which brings the origin of the Towers into a later epoch, gets rid of any difficulties of an architectural character which may be supposed to attach to them at a much earlier and ruder period, it certainly weakens the necessity for them, when the churches themselves had grown into strongholds. No one will doubt that the skill which could design and erect a church or monastery, could compass the building of these Towers; but we have given grounds for believing that adequate capacity existed in the times of the Cænobites.

g. The theory that regards the Towers as belfries, is that which will probably at first find readiest acceptance in the minds of most travellers, from the mere circumstance of their being almost always placed near churches; while, in the absence of any other very obvious purpose, their height and slenderness seem naturally to indicate or suggest such a use for them. I think, however, that a more complete examination of their general and special structure,

will point out their obvious unsuitableness for such a purpose; while many other arguments can be adduced against the probability of this having been the object for which they were originally erected. Nor will the acknowledged fact, that some of these Towers have been used—and I believe one or two are still used—for the hanging of bells, remove the difficulties of the theory that would fix this as their original use. Although designed for very different purposes, it would be far from improbable that they might be employed as such, for want of better, or to save the expense of erecting new ones more adapted for the purpose. We have all seen a church-bell suspended on a neighbouring tree during the rebuilding of a country church; but we did not thence infer that this was the original and proper belfry of the parish.

Respecting the two great fundamental theories of their Oriental and their Christian origin, it is hard to say which seems most probable or most improbable. Many arguments, besides those given above, may be advanced and have been advanced for and against both. The advocates of their Christian origin regard the two facts of their nearly invariable presence in the immediate vicinity of Christian Churches, and the existence of sculptured crosses over the doors of two of them, as almost conclusive in favour of their views. But their opponents are certainly not destitute of arguments of considerable force against them. For instance, they say (1) that

no very probable use of such structures in relation to Christian establishments has been adduced; (2) that if they were necessary for ecclesiastical purposes, all the Irish churches, and not merely a small proportion of them, ought to be provided with such towers; (3) that if they were of strictly Christian origin, they ask, how it comes that, of all Christians in the world, the Irish Christians alone had such buildings; (4) they think that they explain away a good deal of the force of the argument founded on the topographical relations of the churches and Towers, by the counter-argument, that the pre-existence of the Towers as objects of sacred or superstitious interest to the people, might be the cause of the churches being erected in the same locality; while (5) they regard the existence of these two crosses as supplying strong arguments on their own side of the question; a view of the case which I confess I adopt. If these Towers were originally raised by Christians and for Christian purposes, we ought to expect crosses on all of them, and not on two only; and the very fact of their existence on two only seems almost conclusive evidence against their Christian origin generally. The most striking of all the characteristics of these Towers—their wonderful *uniformity*—bears strong testimony against these two crosses having been portions of the original structure of the Towers on which they are now placed. Resembling their fellows in everything else, how, if erected at the same period, should

these two Towers differ from them in this very striking particular? I would, therefore, draw one or other of the two following inferences respecting these two Cross-Towers: either (1) that the two crosses have been sculptured on them, in Christian times, and posteriorly to their original erection; or (2) that the two Towers have been erected subsequently to and in imitation of the other Towers, and were marked by crosses at the period of their erection to indicate their origin in Christian times.

In considering all the foregoing theories of the origin and alleged uses of these Towers, it will not be denied that great difficulties attach to each of the explanations advanced, so that they still remain, and are likely to remain, "the very *Cruces Antiquariorum*," as Sir Walter Scott called them. I make no pretensions to solve the riddle, but confess myself equally puzzled with most of my predecessors. My bias is certainly in favour of the pre-Christian origin of the Towers; but I am fully aware of the many and strong arguments that can be and are adduced against the theory; and must therefore be content to leave it without any additional support from me. Before concluding, however, I must advert to two circumstances which have strongly pressed themselves on my mind, both while contemplating the Towers on the spot, and while reflecting on them since. I hope I am not quite mistaken in thinking them deserving of consideration in our

future attempts to solve the great problem of the origin and uses of these marvellous structures; they are as follows:

1. I have already stated, more than once, that what struck me as a prominent characteristic of the Irish Towers was their wonderful similarity one to another, and their no less dissimilarity to all other buildings. In the minute description of them formerly given, it will be observed that differences do exist in various details of structure; but all these differences will be found, on examination, to be of a kind in no degree to detract from the uniformity of their generic character. They are all "Irish Round Towers," and nothing else but Irish Round Towers; all possessing such broad characteristic marks as identify them one with another, and constitute them a single and distinct species of architectural structure. They differ as individual men differ, but they all as obviously belong to the species of "Round Towers," as all men belong to one species or genus—Man. I dwell upon this fact, because I cannot help thinking that it has important bearings on the question of the origin and purposes of the Towers.

The argument I would deduce from it is this: that such wonderful uniformity of structure implies the existence of some one great predominating idea in the minds of those with whom they originated; such idea not merely prompting the erection of buildings of a special kind, but so governing their individual structure as to prevent all deviation from

the original type. We see no such uniformity in other buildings erected for ordinary secular purposes, and we can hardly believe that the varying judgment, or capacity, or taste, or caprice of architects, in planning and constructing such buildings, could be restricted within such rigid limits of design, if they had been left at liberty to use their own discretion in the matter. Why, in building a belfry, or an ecclesiastical stronghold, or a penitential prison, or a beacon, should one model be so invariably and rigidly followed? Surely, any or all of these purposes could be served, by structures of a varying form and character. We see no such uniformity in any set of mere secular buildings, in any other country, though the object of the buildings may be precisely the same. Our houses, our colleges, our monasteries, our churches, our palaces, our town-halls, our monuments, our forts, our barracks, our barns, our stables, our gardens, our bridges, all vary infinitely. Why, then, should these towers, if intended to serve any of the ordinary secular or semi-ecclesiastical purposes, not show something of the same variety? I would humbly submit, that the only probable explanation of this marvellous uniformity is that already stated, viz., that the Towers were the offspring of some one grand subjugating idea, most probably of some profound and wide-spread religious conviction, forbidding all deviation from the ideal prototype.

I have named our churches among the buildings

that exhibit conspicuous varieties of plan and configuration; and the fact unquestionably is so, speaking of structure generally; yet they may be adduced, on the other side of the argument, as strikingly illustrative of the influence of predominating ideas in determining and preserving special architectural configuration. All, or nearly all, the Christian churches of a large size, such as cathedrals, retain the form of a cross in their outline; almost all churches, great or small, are built in such a direction (E. and W.) as to have one of their extremities looking towards the land where the religion exercised in them originated.

It need not be supposed that the advocacy of this general theory necessarily involves the admission that the primordial and governing notion, call it idea, belief, conviction, feeling, or aught else, must necessarily be of a religious character. The probability will, no doubt, be in favour of its being so; but it is easy to imagine other ideas or feelings, of such intensity and universality, yet not at all of a religious or superstitious sort, as might equally lead to a like result. Some such will readily suggest themselves to most minds; and if this were the place for such a discussion it would not be uninteresting to pursue it. But I have already carried this subject a good deal beyond the limits I had assigned to it in entering on it, and cannot now trace it further. If the speculation here touched on possesses any pith, it must tend materially to influence the reception

which the individual theories hitherto propounded respecting the Towers, are likely to meet with from those who countenance it.

2. The second and last point of a general character respecting the Towers, to which I shall advert, is the fact—so I conceive it to be—of their purely topical or indigenous origin. What I would advance and maintain is this:—that whether the Towers drew their existence from any such predominating influence as has been suggested, or not; or whether the original excogitators of the structures, were strangers or natives, the plan itself, or general system of the Tower-building, not only had its birth in Ireland, but (if I may be allowed the expression) had its life and death also: in other words, was a plan or system purely and exclusively Irish. I think no other evidence is required to maintain this view, but the facts so often stated above, viz., the non-existence, or comparative non-existence, of any such structures elsewhere; and their so-plentiful presence in every part of Ireland. If strangers from the east really did bring a religion with them, prompting the erection of such Towers, the idea and plan of their actual structure would seem to have been developed on the soil of Ireland. They left no prototypes of such structures behind them in their native east. If, on the other hand, the Christianity of the early or later centuries, was the source of the idea which gave rise to their erection, its Irish votaries must have been the parties

to embody its suggestions, and carry them out in the Towers; as they had no prototypes to follow in the other Christian lands of Europe or elsewhere. And so it may be reasoned in regard to any other hypothesis that has been suggested as accounting for the origin of the Towers. Every consideration, indeed, positive or negative, seems to concur in supporting the notion for which I am contending—viz., that these Towers were literally, and in every sense of the word, what Giraldus calls them—a "mos patriæ,"—an Irish Fashion—as much and as exclusively belonging to the country, as any other of their peculiar customs.

Before finally dismissing this, the most interesting of antiquarian subjects, I must be allowed to put in a word in behalf of the Round Towers themselves, as they now exist;—a word to which, I think, the patriotism of Irishmen cannot refuse to give ear. Many of them are in a state of progressive though slow decay, and must, if no conservative interference takes place, eventually become masses of mere shapeless ruins. Others, such as those of Gendalough, Kildare, and Monasterboice, are still sound and strong in their general frame, and merely partially injured at top. Now, what I would propose is—that all the Towers of the former class should be so far repaired, as to prevent any further dilapidation of their mass; and that all those of the latter, should be completely restored by the replacement of their conical dome, as has been done in the

case of the Devenish and Antrim Towers, as well as some others. So repaired, they would, in all probability, remain, without any further care, to be, twenty centuries hence, what they are now and have been so long,—mysterious beacons in the sea of time, inspiring wonder, stimulating thought, feeding fancy. Surely, there could not be a more graceful gift made to their country by the lords of the Irish soil, than this re-edification of monuments so splendid in themselves and so characteristically national.

I would also suggest to the antiquaries of Ireland a humbler labour, but one of analogous import, and which might even prove, eventually, more conservative of the fame of these wonders of their country, than all that the hand of architecture could effect. This labour is—to get constructed an exact and minute description of every individual Tower, with careful measurements and accurate plans of the general structure of each, and of every individual part. This would not merely be a most valuable record of the actual condition of the Towers, at a particular epoch, but, by permitting a minute comparison to be instituted between each part of all of them, might even throw some considerable light on the great question of their origin and uses. It is surely discreditable to the spirit of Irish antiquarianism, that no such record as this exists; nay, that no attempt even to frame such a record has been made. As far as I know, Mr. Petrie's solitary

description and delineation of Clondalkin Tower, is all that has been effected in this way. To undertake and complete a record of the kind proposed, in a spirit and style worthy of the subject, would surely be a labour of glory, and ought to be a labour of love for any Irishman. The author of such a work, when committing it to the immortality of print, might almost be justified in addressing the objects of his antiquarian love, in the language of the poet, when promising to his mistress the deathlessness of his own "powerful rhyme:"—

"When wasteful war shall statues overturn,
And broils root out the work of masonry,
Nor Mars his sword nor war's quick fire shall burn,
This living record of your memory.
'Gainst death and all-oblivious enmity
Shall you pace forth; your praise shall still find room
Even in the eyes of all posterity
That wear this world out to the ending doom."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE COLLEGE OF MAYNOOTH.

On returning to Dublin, my first business was to repair the mistake I had committed on my former journey to the south, in passing by Cashel. Accordingly I now devoted a day to make the visit, then omitted. Of this I have already given a short account in my former volume; having transferred the narrative thither for obvious topographical reasons.

Besides my desire to see a little more of the Capital of Ireland before leaving the country, I had two other objects in view in revisiting Dublin, namely, to see the Model Schools and the College of Maynooth.

In the present Chapter I propose to give, at some length, the results of my visit to the College; and in the next, I hope to be able to combine with my brief notice of the Model Schools, a more detailed account of the state of Education in Ireland generally.

The College of Maynooth is about fifteen English miles from Dublin, on the line of the Midland or Gal-

way railway. It adjoins a small town of the same name, which contains about 2000 inhabitants, and is rather a neat and clean-looking place. There is a sort of square or open space at one end of the town, one side of which is fronted by the College, another by the parish church of Larachbryan, and the old castle of Maynooth; and a third, by the gate which leads to Carton, the seat of the Duke of Leinster. The old castle of Maynooth, a fine ruin, gives additional dignity and interest to the place.

Not having an introduction to any members of the College, we threw ourselves on the kindness of the first gentleman we met with, and were most courteously received, and kindly shown over the whole place by one of the senior pupils, a very intelligent and gentlemanly youth of eighteen or nineteen. There was no reserve or restriction on his part, in showing us whatever we desired to see, or in giving us whatever information we sought at his hands. In his conduct and manner, there was the same good breeding and the same open cheerfulness which we might expect from an undergraduate of Oxford or Cambridge, doing the honours of his College to strangers. And I may here remark, that the bearing, dress, and address of the students generally, were decidedly those of gentlemen; though here and there, a critical eye might detect indications of a humbler fortune and breeding than are to be met with at the English Universities.

The College consists of two quadrangles, or

rather of the three sides of two quadrangles, one behind the other; one old and one new; the former a piece of patchwork, very ugly and barrack-like; the latter, a bran-new erection in Pugin's best style, though little decorated. The length of the front of the old College is about 400, and that of the new about 300 feet.

The interior arrangements of the New College are made on a large and handsome scale. There is a fine corridor, with a roof of peculiar construction, all round the three sides of the quadrangle, into which the lecture and class-rooms, as also some of the students' rooms, open. The refectory is a noble hall, and the library a spacious and well-contrived apartment.

The students' private rooms up-stairs are good as to size and accommodation, but there is in them a great defect as to warming and ventilation; there being no chimneys, and, as far as I could see, no provision for the admission of warm fresh air, or for the escape of foul.

By means of the additional accommodation supplied by the new buildings, every student will now have his separate room; an arrangement which must greatly conduce to the personal comfort of the young men, as well as add to their facilities for study. Sir Francis Head supposes, that this appropriation of a room to each student, must "materially increase the monastic severity of the education;" but I own I cannot see how this can be the

case, since these rooms are merely bedrooms; all the studies of the College being conducted in public halls and lecture-rooms.[1]

The new buildings of the College, besides the public halls and lecture rooms, contain 215 private rooms for students. The number of students on the College books at the time of our visit, including those of the upper and lower schools, and the Dunboyne scholars, amounted to the full complement of 520, viz., 500 ordinary students, and 20 on the Dunboyne Foundation.

The following brief but authentic history of Maynooth College I extract from that excellent authority for everything Irish, 'Thom's Irish Almanac;' and for the details that succeed, I am chiefly indebted to the Eighth Report of the Commissioners of the Irish Education Inquiry, presented to Parliament in the year 1827. Before availing myself of this last stock of information, I have ascertained that it is equally applicable to the College now as in the year it was prepared.

[1] I take this opportunity of referring to Sir Francis Head's book, 'A Fortnight in Ireland,' for an excellent and very complete account of Maynooth; and, I may also add, of the Constabulary Force of Ireland. Had Sir Francis devoted more time to Ireland, and brought his admirable talents to bear, in the same systematic, business-like, and truthful manner, on other important Irish subjects, and on the state of Ireland generally, he would certainly have deterred inferior pens from submitting their humble notes and memorandums to the public. It is greatly to be lamented that so accomplished a writer should have descended to so low a ground of political partisanship as he has done in the Second Part of his book.

"This College was founded in 1795, by an Act of the Irish Parliament, which passed both Houses without a dissentient vote. A sum of about 8000*l.* subject to certain deductions, was annually voted by the Irish, and afterwards by the Imperial Parliament, for its maintenance, from 1795 to 1807, when 5000*l.* additional were voted for the enlargement of the buildings. The annual vote from 1808 to 1813 was 8283*l.*, and from 1813 to 1845 it was raised to 8928*l.* The annual grant for the first four years was principally expended in erecting and furnishing the front range of the College: the cost of the other portions of the buildings, successively erected in 1808, 1815, 1824, and 1835, was defrayed partly from the specific grant of 5000*l.* for that purpose, partly from several unconditional donations to the College, amounting to 6000*l.*, and partly from the accumulated savings on the entrance fees and pensions of the students. The total amount of donations and bequests to the College, including the sums funded for bourses, was 31,681*l.*, besides all the fee simple estates of the late Lord Dunboyne, in the county of Meath, which now return to the College 460*l.* per annum. The entrance fees and pensions of the students from 1813 to 1844, amounted to more than 84,000*l.* The number of students increased with the enlargement of the buildings from 50 to 250; then gradually rising to 400, it amounted in 1836, and the three following years, to 478; but between 1841 and 1845 it fell to an average of

430; of these 250 were charged on the Parliamentary vote, the others paid an annual pension for their maintenance. By the Act 8 and 9 Vic., c. 25, (1845) the College was placed on a new footing, and permanently endowed for the maintenance and education of 500 students, and of 20 senior scholars on the Dunboyne Foundation, which has been uniformly since that time the total number of students. Besides providing for the annual cost of commons, &c. for these 520 students, of allowances to the 20 Dunboyne students, and to 250 students of the three senior classes, and of salaries to the President, Superiors, and Professors, the Act moreover vested in the Commissioners of Public Works a sum of 30,000*l.* for erecting the buildings necessary to accommodate the enlarged number of students."[1] Sir Robert Peel's Act also constituted the trustees a corporation, with power to hold real property to the amount of 3000*l.* of annual value.

On the first institution of the College, the Duke of Leinster yielded up to it a house (part of the present College,) and 54 acres of land, on a perpetual lease, at an annual rental of 72*l.*; and 20 more acres were subsequently obtained from another proprietor, at a rental of 140*l.*; so that the College grounds comprise 74 acres in all. The College was at first intended to receive a certain number of lay students; but the regulation was abandoned in the year 1817, since which period the

[1] Irish Almanac, 1853.

institution has been exclusively directed to the education of ecclesiastics.

No student can be received into the College, unless he is recommended by one of the bishops, and is sixteen years of age; and, previously to admission, every candidate must pass a preliminary examination, including Classics, English Grammar, the elements of Arithmetic, &c.

The College is in charge of a body of trustees, (17 in number,) who are for the most part bishops and noblemen of Ireland. They meet twice a year. There is also a body of official Visitors, (8 in number), who are bound to examine the institution and to report on it once a year. The trustees have the nomination of the officers and professors. The establishment consists of a president, a vice-president, three deans, a prefect of the Dunboyne Foundation, a bursar, and twelve professors. By Sir Robert Peel's Act of 1845, the salaries of all the officers were raised; and are, at present, as follows: that of the President, 574*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*; that of the theological professors, 264*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.*; and that of the other professors, 241*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* The fragmentary character of these sums is accounted for by the fact, that, when the salaries were raised, the precise relations which they previously held to each other were still retained.

The following is the ordinary course of education in the College, during the eight years the pupils remain in it; the academical year consisting of ten out of the twelve months:—

First year.—Humanity—that is, Greek, Latin, Grecian and Roman History; also Arithmetic, Algebra, &c.

Second year. — Rhetoric and Belles Lettres: Greek, Latin, English Composition, &c.

Third year.—Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics, &c. On one day in the week, in this class, there is an exercise on scholastic disputation, usually in Latin.

Fourth year.—Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, &c.

After the four years passed in these secular studies, the students are all transferred to the Divinity department. Here they remain four years more, their studies during this period having all direct reference to their future duties as priests. There are four professors in this department; each of whom lectures both on Dogmatic and Moral Theology. There is also a professor of Hebrew and Sacred Scripture, who is regarded by the statutes as a professor of Theology (a fifth).

Besides the more formal lectures that must be daily attended, according to the standing of the students, there are numerous special exercitations of various kinds in the different years. For instance, there are two lectures weekly on Scripture History. On one day in the week, a half-hour is set apart for the students to comment on the Gospels and Epistles appointed for the following Sunday; and the senior members of the class are called on, in succession, to preach a sermon on the Sundays

and holidays. Once a month, the students are further exercised in public disputations; a chapter of the Bible is selected, and they are called upon to argue on it one against the other. There is a distinct Hebrew class, and two annual public examinations in this language. At the end of every year, there is a general public examination, lasting from nine to eleven days, at which all the students must attend and answer.

Many of the students of the Divinity class, who come from the parts of the country where Irish is spoken, chiefly Munster and Connaught, attend the professor of Irish during the second year of their Divinity course.

The Dunboyne scholarships were originally founded by Lord Dunboyne, and the fund amounted to about 500*l.* per annum. In 1813, an addition of 700*l.* annually was made to this fund by Parliament, to raise the number of scholarships to twenty, all of which are retained for three years beyond the ordinary College course of eight years. The election into this class takes place once a year, the scholarships being awarded to the students "who exhibit more than the ordinary talent and good conduct." These students are under the special charge of their own Prefect, who superintends their morals, and also, together with the professor of Hebrew, assists in completing their education. Their principal studies are Hebrew, Divinity, Canon Law, Ecclesiastical History, Composition, &c. Four prizes are

annually distributed among them; one for Theology; one for Ecclesiastical History; one for Canon Law; and one for "an Essay or Exercise in Composition."

Among the ordinary students, the general rule in regard to ordination is as follows: the order of Sub-Deacon is given at the end of the second Divinity year; that of Deacon at the end of the third; and that of Priest at the end of the fourth,—that is, when the course of studies is complete.

There is a vacation of six weeks each year, in the months of July and August; but the students do not, as a matter of course, leave the College, without the formal permission of their superiors. For those who remain in College, lectures and other studies proceed, but not with the same vigour or strictness as on other occasions.

The general discipline of the house is very rigid, and the rule of study severe. No practical restrictions are imposed on the students in their intercourse with their friends; but all letters to and from them must pass through one of the Deans' hands: the letters, however, are never opened, although the right to examine them is maintained. No books are permitted to be brought to or retained in the College, without the sanction of the Deans; but, subject to this regulation, the students may establish private libraries in their rooms. If prohibited books are detected in the possession of a student, expulsion is the consequence. Newspapers are prohibited.

The more ordinary modes of punishment for breaches of the laws, are reproof and admonishment from the President; after this, expulsion from the College. The Commissioners, in 1827, state that three or four students are expelled annually.

The following history of a day and week and year in the College, shows a very rigid and formal discipline, but one which can hardly be called unreasonably severe for youths whose future life is to be one of continued privation, and ought to be one of habitual piety and virtue.

The students rise at five in the summer, and six in the winter. After dressing, they assemble in the Chapel for morning prayer, and then prosecute their studies till eight, when they go to mass. After mass they breakfast, and then amuse themselves till half-past nine, and again return to study till half-past ten. They then attend lectures till half-past eleven, when they have another half-hour's recreation. At twelve, study is resumed for two hours, and is again succeeded by an hour's attendance on lectures. The two hours, from three to five, are devoted to dinner and relaxation. At five, the studies are once more resumed, "either in private or in class," and continued till eight, when another hour is allowed for recreation. At nine, they again assemble for prayers; after which they retire to their bedrooms, and are expected to be all in bed by ten.

Wednesdays and Saturdays are half-holidays,

at which times the students usually walk in the country, under the superintendence of the Deans.

During the hours of private study and, of course, at lecture, and also at meals, the students are enjoined silence; and after retiring to their rooms at night, "silence is strictly enjoined until after morning prayers of the ensuing day." It is only during the times of recreation of five days in the week (between four and five hours each day) that the students have full liberty to converse with one another: on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and some other occasional vacant days, "the liberty of speaking is less restricted."

Twice in the year, five days are set apart for what is called a "Spiritual Retreat," during the whole of which period silence and religious meditation are strictly enjoined. One of these "Retreats" is early in September, the other at the period of Ordination: both are followed by Confession. During these Retreats "the time is principally spent in prayer, in spiritual reading, in exercises of piety, and in attending to spiritual instruction in the Chapel." A portion of each day is allowed for exercise, but the students are understood to walk "in silence and solitary contemplation."[1]

No one, I think, who peruses the foregoing account of the general course of proceedings at Maynooth—an account which has the stamp of

[1] Eighth Report of the Commissioners of the Irish Education Inquiry.

accuracy impressed on it by the signature of the five Commissioners[1]—will hesitate to admit that the youths educated in that College ought to grow up learned as well as religious men. The course of the studies in Divinity is, I believe, unexampled, both as to extent and duration, by any other institution that prepares young men for the exercise of the Ministry in Great Britain. I know not whether the results are proportionate to the preparation; but I saw nothing among the Catholic Clergy in Ireland to make me doubt this.

On the whole, from what I myself saw at Maynooth, and from what I have since learned respecting it, I am bound to conclude that it is a well-planned and well-managed Institution, calculated to communicate to its students a good secular as well as religious education, and to send them forth amply qualified for the discharge of their sacred functions as priests; and as well-informed gentlemen, to set an example of social propriety to their flocks. It was an opinion formerly prevalent in England, and still entertained, I believe, by many, that the Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland are an inferior order of men, and hardly admissible into the conventional category of gentlemen. I know not what may have been their condition and quality formerly, but, at present, such a character is totally inapplicable to them. It is true, that the original

[1] Signed—London, June 2d, 1827, by T. F. Lewis, J. L. Foster, W. Grant, S. Glassford, A. R. Blake.

social status of a considerable proportion of them, and the scanty incomes that fall to the share of all, prevent them generally from attaining that position in society enjoyed by the members of the aristocratic Church of England; and they are probably somewhat deficient in those graces of manner and that polished ease, which such society alone can give. But, judging from what I myself saw, I should say that they are gentlemen in the true sense of the word, and with as much polish as could be expected from men who, for the most part, like the Scottish Clergy, spring from the middle or lower ranks, and have been educated in the seclusion of a college. At any rate, as far as I could learn, they possess, as a body, those higher qualities of character and conduct for which gentility and polish can be no substitute; and that pure life and conversation which, by adding example to precept, lends to their teachings that force and vitality which can alone render them effectual.

It was stated in the Parliamentary Report quoted from above, that, besides those at Maynooth, there were then (1827) about 120 students educating for the Irish priesthood at Carlow, Wexford, and some other Catholic Colleges in Ireland; and about 140 on the continent with the same object. I am not aware to what extent this training for the priesthood, beyond the walls of Maynooth, is at present carried in Ireland. The following five Colleges, however, have all establishments of some extent for conducting ecclesiastical teaching:—

1. St. Patrick's College, Carlow.—This College was founded in 1793, and is altogether self-supporting. It consists of two establishments: one for lay and one for ecclesiastical students. The average number of pupils during the last seven years has been, 64 of the former and 67 of the latter class.

2. The College of All-Hallows, Drumcondra. This institution is for the education of Priests for Foreign Missions. During the year 1851, the average number of students was 80. The number at present is 85.

3. St. Kyran's College, Kilkenny.—There are, in all, seven professors belonging to this College; two in the Divinity department.

4. St. John's College, Waterford.—There are six professors in this College,—two Ecclesiastical.

5. St. Patrick's College, Thurles.—There are five professors; two for Theology and Scripture.

Besides these ecclesiastical Colleges, I find the following list of Catholic Institutions for the education of the youth of the better classes spread throughout Ireland:[1]—

1. College of St. Dominick, at Esker, county of Galway.

2. St. Vincent's Ecclesiastical Seminary, Castleknock.—This is intended as a preparatory College for candidates for the priesthood who intend entering the higher classes of Maynooth and the other Catholic Colleges. It contains, at present, 69 pupils, all resident.

[1] Battersby's Catholic Registry, 1853.

3. Kilmore Diocesan College, Cavan.—This institution is partly on the same plan as the last, but also professes to complete the education of lay youths intended for commerce or the learned professions. It contains, at present, about 50 pupils.

4. St. Jarlath's College, Tuam.

5. St. Peter's College, Wexford. This is a classical and commercial establishment. Number of students, 90.

6. Colleges of the Society of Jesus, three in number.

7. St. Colman's Ecclesiastical Seminary, Newry.

8. Diocesan Seminary, Navan. Established in 1802, partly for the education of candidates for the priesthood, and partly for the lay education of the middle classes. It has, at present, about 80 resident pupils, and 45 day scholars.

9. St. Columb's College, Londonderry.

10. St. Malachy's Diocesan Seminary, Belfast.

11. Academy of St. Lawrence, Dublin.

12. Carmelite Seminary of St. Mary, Knocktopher. Only opened last year. It has now about 50 pupils, about 20 of whom are studying for the priesthood.

13. Connexional Seminary of Saint Lawrence O'Toole, Dublin.

14. The Dominican College of St. Thomas, Newbridge. This college was only established in 1852. It contains, at present, 24 resident pupils, and 32 day scholars.

15. St. Mary's College, Air Hill, Kingstown.

CHAPTER XIV.

EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

The visit to the Model Schools in Marlborough Street, was brief, but sufficed to show the completeness of the arrangements there adopted for carrying into effect all the objects of this admirable establishment. I was fortunate to find all the schools in active operation; and had the honour of having the various proceedings explained to me, after the pupils had retired, by the Resident Commissioner himself. To give a detailed account of these would occupy more space and time than I have now at my disposal; and this is the less necessary, as all the essential details may be found in the excellent Reports annually published by the Commissioners. Beside the ordinary branches of instruction, music and drawing are especially cultivated in this institution; and in the upper school, I heard and saw specimens of both, which would have done credit to the pupils in any academy.

Perhaps the most important department in the institution is that devoted to the instruction of teachers for the National Schools; and it is conducted in the same efficient manner as the other departments. The only defect seems to be the

insufficient length of time the teachers are retained under training; and this defect the Commissioners are endeavouring to remedy by every means in their power. The number of teachers trained in these schools in the year 1851, was 257, viz. 169 males and 88 females. In the school for training the female teachers, I was gratified to see that the important art of cookery was taught among other accomplishments; a species of knowledge which, beside its advantage to the individual, may prove beneficial to the whole country, as these young women are likely to be spread through every part of it.

The number of pupils on the rolls of these schools on the 30th September, 1851, was—males, 697; females, 473; infants, 364; making a total of 1534; the daily average attendance during the year being about 1200.

The following Table shows the number on the rolls in each school, for the week ending the 30th October, 1851, with the religious denominations of the children:

	Boys.	Girls.	Infants.	Total.
Roman Catholics . .	500	439	344	1283
Church of England . .	72	41	41	154
Presbyterians . . .	9	8	4	21
Protestant Dissenters . .	1	1	0	2
Jews	0	0	2	2
Total . . .	582	489	391	1462

This Table shows, as decidedly as any of our former Tables, how predominant the Catholic element is, even in the schools of the Capital; evidencing there, as elsewhere, what is the characteristic religion of the land, and how the Church of the minority holds her children aloof from the fountains of instruction opened to them by a paternal government.

It is gratifying to the friends of Ireland to be able to state that, in that most important of all the departments of social economy—EDUCATION, the country is, comparatively speaking, greatly advanced. The numerous statistical notices, under this head, given in almost every one of the preceding Chapters, must have made this sufficiently evident to my readers. The subject is, however, of such very great importance, in relation to the actual condition and future progress of the Irish people, that it claims some more special notice than I have hitherto been able to bestow on it. I wish it were in my power to do full justice to it; but I must be contented with merely giving, in this place, a few additional details of a somewhat more general character than would have been proper when taking my Memorandums on the spot.

The great characteristic feature in the system of Education in Ireland, is that presented by the admirable Institution, called the BOARD OF NATIONAL EDUCATION; and the remarks I am about to

make will be confined, in a great measure, to an exposition of its general plans, and the happy results of its labours. To those who desire fuller information respecting the proceedings of this Institution, I recommend a perusal of the Official Reports adverted to above. For much additional statistical matter of a like kind, I must also refer to the Annual Reports of the numerous private societies, instituted and maintained with the same benevolent object of instructing the people; and to that admirable epitome of information of all sorts concerning Ireland, 'Thom's Irish Almanac.'

Until the establishment of the National Board in the year 1831-2, Ireland, like England, was almost entirely dependent on the exertion of individuals, acting singly, or combined in societies, for the education of the great mass of her people. A good many of these old societies still subsist; but several of them have been absorbed by newer ones having the same general objects, particularly by the great Church Education Society. Among those partially or totally suppressed societies, may be mentioned the old Parochial Schools, mainly supported by the clergy; the schools of the Association for Discountenancing Vice; the London Hibernian Society; the Chartered Schools of the Incorporated Society, &c. The following list gives as near an approximation as I can make to the present number receiving instruction in all the schools in Ireland, high and low. I have no doubt that the statement

is far from being correct; and I believe it can hardly be made so at present, without a special official inquiry; its most prominent inaccuracy will be found, I suspect, to lie on the side of defect as to numbers; but I have been unwilling to run any risk of exaggeration in a matter of such great importance. That I cannot have made any great mistake on the other side of the question, must appear from the fact, that nine tenths, at least, of the numbers given, are taken from official, or at least authentic, documents:—

IRISH COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS.	No. of Scholars.
(1.) Trinity College, Dublin; and Queen's Colleges of Cork, Belfast, Galway .	1600
(2.) Endowed Schools of Royal and Private Foundation	1665
(3.) Schools on the Foundation of Erasmus Smith	6535
(4.) College of Maynooth, and other Catholic Colleges and Superior Schools . .	2200

(1.) From the College Calendars.

(2.) According to the Parliamentary returns, 1852; viz.—9 Royal schools, 14 Diocesan schools; 22 Private schools.

(3.) According to the Parliamentary return of 1826, the number of the schools belonging exclusively to the Foundation was given as 100, containing, according to the Protestant returns, 7824, and according to the Catholic returns, 7612 scholars: taking the average of the two returns, we have 7771 as the number of scholars. My informant in Dublin in 1852, (see vol. I, p. 164,) gives the present number of schools as 108, and supposes the average number of scholars in each may be about 50: this would make the total number of scholars 5900. Now, taking the average of the two estimates, we have 6835. Accordingly I assume this number in the list.

(4.) The fixed complement of Maynooth is 520. There are 24 other

	No. of Scholars.
(5.) College of St. Columba, Belfast Institution and Academy, and other Protestant Schools of a superior class .	1000
(6.) Charitable Institutions and Societies, with Schools for the Maintenance and Education of Children of particular classes, (Orphan Schools, &c. &c.) .	5000
(7.) Private Pay-Schools of all kinds and for both sexes, besides those included in the list of the Superior Schools, (Nos. 2, 3, 5,) say	20,000

Catholic colleges and Educational establishments of a superior order. I have ascertained the actual number of pupils in several of them, and from the returns have given an average of 70 students to each, which gives the number in the text.

(5.) The present number of students in the Protestant college of St. Columba is 127. In the other Protestant academies in Ulster, and Protestant schools elsewhere, I have allowed 873 pupils to make up the round number of 1000 given in the table.

(6.) Looking at the great number of the establishments for Orphans in all the large towns of Ireland, (there are upwards of 20 in Dublin alone,) and reckoning the various Charity schools devoted to the children of different classes of society, a very numerous list, I believe the number of 5000 assumed in the Tables is considerably below the truth. See Thom's Almanac for an account of many of these schools.

(7.) In the Second Report of the Educational Inquiry in Ireland (1826), there is a return under the head "Pay Schools unconnected with Societies," comprising no less than 9352 schools, containing, according to the Protestant returns 394,732, and, according to the Catholic returns, 403,777 scholars. In the same report, under the head of "Parish Schools," constituted by the act of Henry VIII, and superintended by the Clergy of the Established Church, 827 schools and 40,758, or 44,056 scholars (according to the Par. Com. returns respectively) are returned. Now, assuming as I have done, that the great body of scholars then provided for in these schools have been absorbed by the National schools and the Church Educational Society's schools, I can hardly

		No. of Scholars.
(8.)	The Schools under the National Board	520,401
(9.)	Schools connected with the Church Education Society.	103,878
(10.)	Schools of the Irish Society . . .	26,322
(11.)	Irish Mission Schools	3500
(12.)	Capt. Robinson's Schools, and Incorporated Society's Schools (20) .	2636
(13.)	Schools of 35 Workhouses not in connection with the National Board	2000
(14.)	Schools of the London Companies in Ulster	2000
(15.)	Presbyterian Mission Schools, including the Belfast Ladies' Schools, and Schools attached to Presbyterian Churches, Baptist and Wesleyan ditto	8000

believe but that the estimate of 20,000, assumed in my list for these two classes of schools, must be below the truth; but as I prefer being charged with understating, rather than overstating, I allow the estimate to stand.

(8.) From the Report of 1852.

(9.) From the Report of 1852.

(10.) From the Report of 1851.

(11.) From the Report of the Society, 1852.

(12.) From a statement in the Church Education Society's Report, 1852.

(13.) Calculated proportionately from the other Workhouse Schools.

(14.) Calculated from the Reports of the Schools, (see vol. II, Chap. VI, of the present work.)

(15.) Estimated from the Reports of the Societies and private information.

	No. of Scholars.
(16.) Schools of the Christian Brothers, 1852	10,000
(17.) Nunnery Schools	12,000
(18.) Children in the Sunday Schools, not attending other Schools . . .	100,000
	828,737

Assuming, then, that the numbers here given are approximatively accurate, and that the total number of children and young persons at present under education in Ireland is, as stated in the Table, 828,737; it follows, by comparing this number with the population in 1851 (6,515,794), that the proportion of scholars to the whole population is 1 in 7.86.

This estimate, which I regard as below the truth, places Ireland, in respect of Education, very far above England, according to the estimate that has been usually hitherto made of the attendants on her

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(16.) According to the Returns of 1826, the pupils of these Schools amounted to 5541; the present number is taken from the Catholic Registry.

(17.) According to the Returns of 1826, the children in these Schools amounted to 7575. I believe I am considerably underrating the present number by fixing it at 12,000.

(18.) I hesitated some time before I admitted this class of scholars at all into my list; but as they are not accounted for under any other heading, and they receive no other schooling than that afforded by the Sunday Schools, I have thought it just to add them to my list. The total number of children attending Sunday Schools in Ireland on the 1st July, 1852, was no less than 222,628: and as it is stated in the Report, that, about 100,000 of these do not attend any other Schools, I have placed this number in my list.

schools; and places her still above England, even according to the greatly-improved estimate supplied by the Census of 1851. We had been accustomed to consider the proportion of children attending schools in England, as not being higher than 1 in 14 or 15; and Mr. Kay, in his book on Education, makes the proportion, in 1850, to be 1 in 14. In my calculations I had accordingly assumed this proportion as approximatively correct, and had so recorded it in these pages. But since this Chapter was at press, Lord John Russell has announced in Parliament, (April 4th, 1853,) the proportion, as ascertained by the last Census, instead of 1 in 14, to be 1 in 8.5. This very gratifying correction of an erroneous opinion, greatly lessens the assumed superiority of Ireland as to Education; though, as already stated, it still leaves her the superiority. Both returns are most satisfactory, as showing how both countries may now compare themselves, with less shame, with the well-educated countries of the Continent, or, at least, with some of those countries some ten or twenty years before the present time. If the comparison were now made, it is probable that the continental nations would be found to present a much higher educational proportion than appears in the following Table. This Table I have condensed from the work of Mr. Kay, already quoted, interpolating Ireland, in its proper place, and transferring England from the lowest place assigned to her by Mr. Kay to the

place she is entitled to occupy, according to the authority of the last Census.

Proportion of Scholars to the General Population in different Countries.

Country.	Date of the Estimate.	Proportion of the School Population to the whole Population.
Saxony . . .	1841	1 to 5.0
Switzerland . .	1837 to 1844	1 to 5.7
Wirtemburg . .	1838	1 to 6.0
Prussia . . .	1838	1 to 6.0
Baden (Duchy) .	1838	1 to 6.0
Denmark . . .	1834	1 to 7.0
Ireland . . .	1851	1 to 7.8
Holland . . .	1838	1 to 8.0
Bavaria . . .	1831	1 to 8.0
Scotland . . .	1842	1 to 8.0
Bohemia . . .	1843	1 to 8.5
England . , .	1851	1 to 8.5
Austria . . .	1843	1 to 9.0
Iceland . . .	1851	1 to 9.0
France	1843	1 to 10.5
Belgium . . .	1836	1 to 10.7

There is reason to believe that Ireland was in advance of England, in respect of education, long before the epoch of the National Schools. The following little history is not introduced as a proof of this superiority, but merely as an apposite illustration, which I have received from an officer who was present during the occurrence:

In the beginning of the present century, an Irish militia regiment happened to be quartered in the

same locality as the Middlesex Militia of that day. A question having arisen between the two commanding officers of the respective corps, on this very subject of education in the two countries, it was agreed to have it decided by a bet after actual examination of the individual soldiers. The champion of the Irish won his bet, as it was found that the proportion of men who could read and write was greater in the Irish regiment.

But it is the establishment of the system of National Schools in the year 1831-2, that Ireland must regard as the foundation of all her present superiority and all her future expected progress in Education: a measure second in real importance to no social or domestic enactment of the British Government, and almost worthy to be compared with that noble act of the Scottish Parliament which established the system of parochial schools in that country in the year 1696.[1]

No one can examine the series of interesting documents, published by the Commissioners under the form of Annual Reports to the Lord Lieutenant, without being impressed with the singular zeal,

[1] Although the formal statute establishing the present system of Parochial Schools in Scotland was only passed at the above date, the Schools had been virtually established long before: first, in 1616, by an act of the Privy Council, ratified by Parliament in 1633; and secondly, in 1646, during the Commonwealth. This last act was repealed at the Restoration, but was afterwards incorporated in the "Act for settling Schools," in 1696.

industry, and impartiality, which have characterised the proceedings of the authorities appointed to carry the government plan of Education into effect; and no one can contemplate the actual results of their labours, as seen in the present extent and condition of the schools, without acknowledging that they have achieved, under great difficulties, a truly-national work, already benefiting Ireland in a very high degree, and, no doubt, destined to benefit her in a still higher degree, through many generations.

The great obstacles the Commissioners have had to contend with from the beginning, has been the prejudices engendered by the different forms of religion prevalent in Ireland. Most carefully and wisely were the plans of the Government framed, with the view of meeting the difficulties arising from this cause; and nothing could exceed the tender care evinced by the Commissioners towards all objectors, in putting these plans in execution. But no courtesies, no concessions, no modifications consistent with the grand fundamental principle on which the system was founded, have been found adequate to meet the narrow views which have unfortunately been adopted by the clergy of the Established Church in Ireland. The consequence has been, that though the great mass of the children of the lower classes of the Catholic population have obtained nearly all the benefits the schools are calculated to bestow, the children of the same

classes belonging to the Protestant Establishment, have derived very little advantage from them. For this great and irreparable loss to the poor, the ministers and gentry of the Established Church in Ireland, are entirely responsible; and although sectarian prejudice may for a time make them blind to the evil they have done, and are still doing, there can be but one opinion among enlightened and impartial men as to their conduct. From a spirit of hard sectarianism, not unmixed, it is to be feared, with feelings of even a lower kind, they have sacrificed the highest interests of those who have a claim on them for direction in the right way; and have, so far, done what in them lay, to check the progress of their country in the career of improvement and happiness.

In making this general charge against the clergy of the Established Church in Ireland, I believe myself warranted by their conduct generally. It would, however, be unjust not to admit, that there have been some brilliant exceptions;—few in number, it is true, but sufficient to show how delightfully different would have been the result had such conduct been general and not exceptional. It is hardly necessary to name Archbishop Whately, as the noble leader of this liberal band.

It would have much less surprised most men in this country, had the opposition arisen on the other side. But it is undoubtedly true that, on this great occasion, it is the members of the Catholic

Church who have exhibited the liberality of views, and the members of the Protestant Church who have shown the narrow-mindedness and bigotry; the two establishments appearing, for once, to have changed sides. From the very beginning, the Catholic clergy, generally speaking, have been cordial supporters of the system; though here and there, and particularly in the diocese of Tuam, there has been occasional opposition manifested.

One of the causes said to lie at the root of the opposition by the English clergy, is the open exposure which would necessarily be made of the comparative numbers of the two churches,—and, consequently, the very inferior numbers of their church,—if the children all congregated under the same roof. Another cause alleged is, their unwillingness to mix on equal terms, as they must necessarily do, in the supervision of the schools, with their unendowed brethren of the Catholic Church. Painful as it is to admit these, or any other causes not based on purely religious grounds, as helping to account for the opposition of the English clergy, one is almost compelled to have recourse to some such theory of inferior motives; seeing that it is impossible to find any sufficient reason of a real religious character to justify their conduct.

According to the provisions of the original plan laid down by the Government, and most rigidly enforced by the Commissioners, all interference of the clergy of one sect with the children of another,

has been most carefully guarded against; while all possible freedom of access has been secured to the pastors for the express purpose of instructing the children of their own flocks, in their own religious views. This must be obvious to every visitor of these schools; and has been made public in almost every report issued by the Commissioners. "The principle of the system is, and has been from the beginning, that the National Schools shall be open alike to Christians of all denominations; and that, accordingly, no child shall be required to be present at any religious instruction of which his parents or guardians may disapprove; and that opportunities shall be afforded to all children to receive separately, at particular periods, such religious instruction as their parents or guardians may provide for them."[1] "One day, at least, in each week (independently of Sunday) is to be set apart for the religious instruction of the children, on which day such pastors or other persons as are approved of by the parents or guardians of the children, shall have access to them for that purpose." The managers of schools are also expected, should the parents of any child desire it, to afford convenient opportunity and facility for the same purpose, either before or after the ordinary school business, on other days of the week. "Any arrangement of this description that may be made, is to be publicly notified in the schools, in order that those children, and those only, may be present

[1] Eleventh Report, 1844.

at the religious instruction, whose parents and guardians approve of their being so."[1]

I can testify, from personal examination in every part of Ireland, that these rules are rigidly adhered to by the masters of the schools; and I believe that any attempt at proselytism by them, is a thing unheard of.

The melancholy result of the opposition on the part of the clergy of the Established Church has been, as above stated, to exclude the great majority of the Protestant children of the more Catholic parts of Ireland, from all participation in the benefits of the National Schools.

This fact will appear sufficiently established by the results of my own numerous inquiries in the schools, as detailed in this work, the whole aspect of the schools, out of Ulster, being essentially Catholic. In twelve schools visited by me in Leinster, Munster and Connaught, containing in all about 3000 children, not more than about 30 Protestants were reported to me, being in the proportion of 1 Protestant to 100 Catholics; while in four schools in Ulster, the numbers were 440 Catholics to 141 Protestants, or about 1 Protestant to 3 Catholics.

It would appear, however, from the more extensive, and, no doubt, more accurate inquiries instituted by the Board itself, last year, at the equest of the Lord Lieutenant, that the proportion

[1] Second Report (Appendix), 1835.

of Protestants in the schools generally,—including, of course, Ulster,—is considerably greater than that just stated. Out of a total of 491,927 children, the numbers belonging to each of the different religions were as follows:

Established Church	24,684
Presbyterians	40,618
Other Protestant Dissenters . . .	1908
Catholics	424,717

This would give the relative proportions in the schools, as follows:

Established Church	1 in 19.0
Presbyterians and other Protestant Dissenters	1 in 11.5
Catholics	1 in 1.15
Protestants of all denominations . .	1 in 7.3

But even in these returns, it is evident that the Established Church exhibits her special backwardness to join the National Schools in comparison with the other classes of Protestants; unless, indeed, we are to assume that these last-named classes have increased of late years, in a ratio vastly beyond that of the English Church. In the returns of 1834, the proportion of the members of the Established Church to Protestants of all other denominations, was nearly as 8 to 6; but in these returns from the schools, the proportion is quite different, and even more than reversed, there being only 5 members of the English Church to 9 Presbyterians.

The following Table, however, shows results considerably more satisfactory, and seems to prove that

the opposition of the Established Church is already beginning to relax, although still only permitting a disparaging comparison with the Protestant Dissenters. It is taken from the Head Inspectors' Reports of Model Schools, in the year 1851.

Model Schools.	No. of Children of each Religious Denomination in each School.		
	Established Church.	Presbyterians, and other Dissenters.	Catholics.
Newry . . .	218	268	484
Ballymena . .	30	135	59
Coleraine . .	60	189	67
Baillieborough .	64	44	168
Clonmel . .	63	26	174
Trim . . .	23	0	294
Total . .	458	662	1246

But dismissing from consideration these miserable sectarian views, we must admit that the success of the National School system, viewed as a system of National Education, has been most satisfactory; leaving no doubt, in the mind of liberal and impartial judges, of its ultimate triumph over every form of obstruction that has been raised or may be raised against it. It is believed that the only event that could frustrate such a result,—namely, the overthrow of the very principles of the system by government, in accordance with the wishes of the obstructing minority,—is one which, in the present and prospective condition of the world, may be regarded as next to impossible.

The Board of National Education, as already stated, was founded by Government Order in the year 1831. Although it commenced operations immediately, a good deal of time was necessarily consumed in preliminary arrangements, so that it did not publish its first Report until 1834. The Society was further strengthened by being incorporated by Royal Charter in the year 1845; the Charter granting all the usual powers accorded in similar cases.

The government of the Institution is exclusively vested in a body of Commissioners, who are not to exceed fifteen, but may consist of any less number. As vacancies occur, they are filled up by the Lord-Lieutenant. The present number of Commissioners is fourteen, one of whom, the Right Hon. Alexander Macdonnell, is resident. There are two chief secretaries. The present Staff employed under the Board, in the supervision of the schools, consists of the following officers:

4 Head Inspectors.
1 Agricultural Inspector.
36 District Inspectors.
8 Sub-Inspectors.
1 Agricultural ditto.

The whole of Ireland is divided into 44 districts, each of which is superintended by an Inspector or Sub-Inspector. In their last Report, the Commissioners express their intention to augment the number of both the Head and District Inspectors.

The following Table exhibits at one view, the

progress of the Society from its commencement up to the year 1851.

Years.	No. of Schools in operation.	No. of Children on the Rolls.	Annual Expenditure.
1833	789	107,042	£ s. d.
1835	1106	145,521	
1836	1181	153,707	
1837	1300	166,929	
1838	1384	169,548	
1839	1581	192,971	
1840	1978	232,560	
1841	2337	281,849	
1842	2721	319,792	63,146 0 0
1843	2912	355,320	63,283 16 11
1844	3153	395,550	76,205 6 8
1845	3426	432,844	89,501 13 8
1846	3637	456,410	86,152 13 3
1847	3825	402,632	102,318 14 5
1848	4109	507,469	127,777 7 0
1849	4321	480,623	138,246 16 7
1850	4547	511,239	153,473 17 2
1851	4704	520,401	158,564 4 4

The following is a List of the Schools in operation, and their respective attendance, in each of the different provinces, during the half-year ending 30th of September, 1851.

Province.	No. of Schools.	No. of Scholars.
Ulster . . .	1878	151,082
Munster . .	1089	160,345
Leinster . .	1154	137,507
Connaught . .	583	68,563

The following Table shows the distribution of the Schools throughout Ireland, according to

provinces; with the proportion of schools and of scholars to the population of each province; and also the proportional number of scholars in each school in the respective provinces. The numbers of the schools and scholars are taken from the Eighteenth Report of the National Board (1851), and the population from the Census of the same year:

Province.	Proportion of Schools to the Population.	Proportion of Scholars to the Population.	Proportional No. of Scholars in each School.
Ulster . .	1 to 1071	1 to 13	80
Munster . .	1 to 1705	1 to 11	146
Leinster . ,	1 to 1449	1 to 12	118
Connaught .	1 to 1735	1 to 14	117

This Table exhibits a remarkable peculiarity in regard to the province of Ulster, indicating, I presume, the more effective system of instruction pursued in the schools of that province. The peculiarity is this,—that while the proportion of the population under instruction is greater in two of the other provinces and nearly as great in the third, the proportion of schools is much greater in Ulster, and consequently the proportion of scholars in each school much less. It admits of no question that the instruction of pupils by one master or mistress must be greatly more effective, when the number to be instructed is only 80, than when the number is one half or two thirds greater. It is impossible for one teacher to do full justice to 146 pupils, as in the schools of Munster, or even to 117

or 118, as in the schools of Leinster and Connaught. I regret that the mode of the returns given in the Church Education Society's Reports, prevents my being able to indicate the proportional numbers in its schools according to the provinces.

From the data supplied by the Returns of the National Schools, as given above, it would appear that the desire of education among the lower classes of Ireland is quite as great in the Catholic as in the Protestant districts.

I subjoin a Table drawn up on the same principle as the above, in regard to the children in the Sunday Schools of Ireland, from which it will appear that a very different distribution of schools and scholars takes place in the different provinces. I stated above that the total number of scholars in the Sunday Schools of Ireland was on the 1st January 1852, 222,628; and I may here add, as giving the key to the results exhibited in the subjoined Table, that the Sunday Schools, though by no means excluding Catholics, do so practically, in a great measure, from the fact of being scriptural schools, according to the tenets of Protestantism:

Province.	Proportion of Schools to the Population.	Proportion of Scholars to the Population.
Ulster . .	1 to 1028	1 to 13
Leinster . .	1 to 4575	1 to 105
Munster . .	1 to 3550	1 to 151
Connaught .	1 to 4561	1 to 80

In this Table Ulster appears pre-eminent not merely in the number of schools, but in the proportion of her scholars to the general population.

Although the National Board had complete control over the whole of the schools in connection with them, from the beginning, they, at first, required more or less pecuniary support from the locality in which they are respectively situated. The general principle on which the Commissioners proceeded, was that of *assisting* local exertions for the establishment of schools; except in the case of Model Schools, of which they bore the whole expenses. This requirement of local aid has, however, in a great many instances, fallen into abeyance, the whole expense being often now defrayed by the Board. The salaries granted to the Teachers come under the head of gratuities; though, for the most part, these gentlemen receive little else in the form of pay, except what arises from the children's pence.

On the 31st of March, 1852, the number of Teachers of all sorts and of both sexes, in the service of the Board, was 5822; they were divided as follows, according to their religion:

Established Church	360
Presbyterians	760
Other Protestant Dissenters	49
Roman Catholics	4653

No evidence can be more conclusive than this,

that the National System of Education in Ireland, is, at present, essentially one for the members of the Catholic body.

The Commissioners have been progressively augmenting the salaries of their Teachers; but they are yet much too small. The following is the Scale of Salaries as last augmented, in the year 1851:

Classes of Teachers.		Salaries per Annum.	
		Males.	Females.
First Class.	1st Division.	£35	£24
	2d do.	28	20
	3d do.	24	18
Second Class.	1st do.	21	16
	2d do.	19	15
Third Class.	1st do.	17	14
	2d do.	15	13

An important class of Teachers in the schools, are the *Monitors*. At the close of the year 1851, the number of paid Monitors was 341, viz., eight male and four female for each district. Their pay is as follows:—first year, 4*l.*; second year, 5*l.*; third year, 7*l.*; fourth year, 8*l.*

One of the finest features in the Prussian system of education is the elaborate care bestowed on the training of the Masters, or teaching the Teachers. The Irish Commissioners have paid all the attention possible, in their limited sphere, to the same object;

but they have not sufficient pecuniary or educational means to effect all that is desirable. They are, however, gradually extending their provisions in this way. From the commencement of their operations up to the end of the year 1851, they have sent out of their training schools 3118 Teachers. In the year 1851 only, they trained 257 National Teachers, viz. 169 males and 88 females.

It is manifest, from the whole of their Reports, how deeply impressed the Commissioners always have been with the importance of having a staff of well-trained Teachers; and they seem to have done all that was practicable to create such a staff. But the means at their disposal are totally inadequate to raise the standard of intellectual acquirement, among this class of men, to that point which it ought to reach. In the first place, the period given up for their instruction, is greatly too short for the acquisition of the necessary knowledge; and, in the second place, their salaries are quite insufficient to give them that consideration in the eye of the public and their pupils which is essential to their full success as Teachers; or to enable them to attain that position in social life which they ought to hold.

In proportion, however, as we increase the standard of knowledge of the Teachers, we must at the same time augment their income. Most justly does Mr. Kay remark, that "we must provide good *situations* for the teachers, or we shall never obtain

well-educated teachers for the schools;" and I think the same gentleman's estimate of what ought to be the *situation* of such men is not at all too high. "Each teacher (he says) ought to have a certain salary, of at least 50*l.* per annum, provided for him, as well as a house and garden, and the school-fees."[1]

The individual schools have one or more gentlemen of the district connected with them, who, under the name of Patrons or Managers, are, or ought to be, the ordinary supervisors of the schools, and have the power of nominating the Teachers, with the sanction of the Board. In November, 1852, there were, in connection with the Board, in all, 4795 schools; and the following Table gives the number and religion of the lay and clerical managers of 4434 of these schools:

Religion of the Managers.	Number of Managers.		Number of Schools.
	Clerical.	Lay.	
Established Church .	67	229	554
Presbyterians . . .	247	151	670
Protestant Dissenters	4	12	23
Catholics	957	186	3187

It will be observed in this Table, as in others, how inferior a position is held by the Established Church, as to the number of schools under its immediate management; and what indicates still more strikingly the *animus* of the Clergy of the

[1] 'Social Condition of the People.'

Church, is the remarkable disproportion indicated between the number of its lay and clerical managers, as compared with the other Churches. Thus, while in the Catholic Church, the proportion of clerical to lay managers is as 5.1 to 1; and in the Presbyterian Church, as 1.6 to 1; in the English Church it is only as 1 to 3.4.

Agricultural Schools.—Casual reference has been made to these schools in several of the preceding pages, and their high importance pointed out. There are none of the labours of the Commissioners more praiseworthy than those relating to these schools; and none in which they seem to exhibit a more enlightened zeal. They are every year gradually augmenting their operations in this direction. At the close of the year 1851 the kind and number of the Agricultural Schools were as follows:

1. Model Agricultural Schools under the exclusive management of the Board	12
2. Under the management of local Patrons	16
3. Ordinary Agricultural Schools in connection with the Board	38
4. Workhouse Agricultural Schools	16
Total	82

When these schools have been increased fourfold, as they will be erelong, it is not easy to overestimate their importance in improving the knowledge and habits of the young agriculturists of the country. But independently of this, the mere

practice of the art is highly beneficial in itself; "it keeps in vigorous action the physical powers and mental faculties of the children; and by teaching them to labour, gives them habits of useful industry."[1] At the same time, the Commissioners most wisely consider that all such industrial instruction must be kept within due bounds, and be always made subordinate to mental culture. They say: "The agricultural and other industrial instruction which we are endeavouring to promote, is intended by us to be only supplementary to the ordinary branches of school instruction. The latter is regarded as the primary object; and, accordingly, we never make grants to schools exclusively agricultural or industrial."[2]

Two main conclusions are manifestly deducible from the whole of the preceding details: 1st. That the National System of Education in Ireland has succeeded admirably among that portion of the people who are either Catholics or Protestant Dissenters; 2d. That it has comparatively failed among the members of the Established Church. However much to be regretted is this incomplete success, it is very satisfactory to know that the incompleteness attaches to the side of the minority. Had the defalcation occurred among the Catholics, who constitute the great body of the people, the admirable scheme of National Education must

[1] Eighteenth Report, 1851. [2] Ibid.

have been regarded as almost an entire failure. As it is, we can only say that the success, though great, is less than it was expected to be, might have been, or ought to have been. The great practical question now is,—Can the obstacles to the equal instruction of the children belonging to the Established Church in Ireland, be removed by any interference of Government, so as to extend to the whole of the population the great benefits now received by a portion only? In considering such a question, it would evidently be most unfair to the children of the minority to make them continue to suffer on account of the short-sighted prejudices of their superiors. It would be still more unfair to the children of the majority, to make them suffer for the prejudices of another sect. And it would be the unfairest proceeding of all, to ruin the whole of the present admirable system of education, by the vain attempt to conciliate its opponents by altering its essential principles.

It is evident from several passages in the last Report of the Commissioners that they regard the opposition of the English Church as on the decline; and some of the statistics given above seem to corroborate this opinion. It will, therefore, be but right to allow things to proceed as at present, in the hopes that a few more years may bring about a more satisfactory result.

So all-important, however, is Education, that its progress cannot be allowed to be permanently im-

peded by the misjudgment of any sect or party. The children of the land must not be permitted to fall into the ditch, because their leaders are blind. They must be taught, though even at the sacrifice, on the part of Government, of submitting its own juster views to the requirements of prejudice. If the Protestants of Ireland are found to persist in withholding the children of their church from the National Schools, a just and paternal rule must remember the loss and forget the wrong; and build and endow schools for Protestants as well as for Catholics. But the time has not yet come for making this sacrifice.

Although I should be sorry to see any attempt now made to alter the principles which guide the conduct of the Commissioners of the National Schools of Ireland, as to religious instruction, I am decidedly of opinion, that were the Institution to be founded anew, it would be much wiser, as leading to more harmony and to richer educational results, to make the schools exclusively *Secular Schools*, as they have been called, discarding all pretence and all attempts to instruct the children religiously *by the Masters of the Schools*. And I would advocate this plan even on religious grounds alone, if on no other; as I feel assured it would lead to a much more complete religious education of all the children, than is now attained either in the schools of Ireland or England. Under the present system of what is

called religious instruction in the schools, parents and guardians, and the clergy themselves in many cases, are led to rely mainly, if not altogether, on it, and so to neglect all separate religious instruction at home or elsewhere; when the fact unquestionably is, in a large proportion of cases at least, that the religious teaching in the schools is very imperfect, being too often merely technical and verbal, and learnt *by rote* but not *by heart*. If parents capable of instructing their children in religion, knew that it was not taught at school, they would feel that the responsibility of this great work necessarily devolved on themselves, and would surely act accordingly. It will hardly be doubted that, *cæteris paribus*, the instruction so given by the parents to their children, will have a heartiness and warmth in it, which could not fail to leave an impression very different from that of the formal teaching of a hired master. In the cases where parents are incapable of being themselves the instructors—and even where they are so—I think we might reasonably impose on the Clergy of every parish or school-district the office of instructing in religion the children of members of their own flock, and orphans of their own religion; a duty they would, no doubt, like the parents, feel the more imperative from knowing that the entire responsibility of it was left to themselves. A sufficient portion of one day in the week, or an hour each day, might be appropriated to the religious lessons; and in order that this most important duty might be fulfilled with

perfect convenience to all parties, I would have one or more rooms, exclusively devoted to this object, attached to every school-house, and placed in the immediate charge of the clergy.

Where it is not a mere pretence, it is certainly a delusion, that there is any more impiety in teaching reading and writing, and arithmetic, and geography, and history, without any formal admixture of religious lessons,—than it is to teach any art or trade without them. Both kinds of knowledge are, no doubt, essential; but I maintain that here, as in so many other departments of learning, each can be best taught by itself. The division of labour will be found as valuable in this, as in any other department of knowledge.

CHAPTER XV.

IRELAND IN THE PAST, THE PRESENT, AND THE FUTURE.

It will, I doubt not, be expected by all those who have followed me thus far, that after concluding my numerous and manifold observations relating to the individual things of Ireland, I should have something to say, of a more general character, respecting the past and present state of the country and its prospects in the future. Such an expectation, I admit to be both natural and just; as it would be unreasonable to believe that the extensive and prolonged exercise of thought, necessarily implied in the original process of collecting the memorandums, and in the subsequent elaboration of them into their present shape, should not have led the writer to reflect seriously on these important questions, and prepared him, in some measure at least, to hold opinions of a more or less definite character respecting them. Such opinions, and of a very positive kind, I undoubtedly have formed in regard to several of the matters alluded to; and some of these opinions I am now prepared, in all humility, to submit to the

reader's consideration. In doing so, however, I disclaim all pretence to have been able to fathom and gauge, with even approximate accuracy, the actual condition of Ireland in its social and political relations; or to have eliminated from the chaos of the past, the true causes or sources of that condition, whatever it may be; and still less, to have made the discovery of the means and measures on which her future peace and prosperity are to be based. All that I am now prepared to do—all that my humble powers enable me to do—is to conclude my book as I began it, by recording, in the form of detached remarks or memorandums, a few of the conclusions which have forced themselves on my mind, after giving the individual subjects all the impartial consideration I have been able to bestow upon them.

Before writing down the few special observations I purpose making on this subject, I wish to premise two or three of a more general kind, which appear to me to have important bearings on the whole case of Ireland, whether regarded relatively to the evils themselves, to their causes, or to the means of remedying them.

1. The first of these relates to the race, blood, or inherent psychical qualities of the people whose condition is the subject of consideration. It is the opinion of many—I might almost say it is a prevalent opinion in England—that there is something

in the very character of the Irish, as a people, that is more or less incompatible with social progress and national prosperity. Those who think so, regard the great movement of Emigration, now in progress, as chiefly beneficial by removing materials unsusceptible of useful or safe application in the construction of the social edifice; and look forward—many with hope, some with confidence—to the complete or partial extermination of the race from the soil of Ireland, as the only sure means of restoring that country to its just level in the scale of national welfare and happiness.

Now, even admitting that such a fundamental eradication were desirable, its obvious impossibility leaves us still in the same predicament as our predecessors, to apply our reasonings and our remedies, whatever they may be, to the same impugned race. It becomes, therefore, necessary to entertain the question—whether the imputation stated is really true; because, if so, it follows as a corollary, that it matters little what means of amelioration we may propose, in a case confessedly hopeless.

I think, I may venture boldly to affirm, that there never was a falser or more injurious opinion entertained respecting a people, than that just stated in relation to the people of Ireland. It is so monstrously absurd—so directly in contradiction not merely to facts and to experience respecting these very people, but to all that we know of the constitution of man

regarded as an animal,—that it seems not merely unnecessary but humiliating to give it serious consideration. It is not to be denied, that RACE goes for much in our estimates of social and national progress; any more than that the constitution or temperament of individual men, goes for much in modifying their particular career, and determining their *status*. But this is a very different thing from affirming of a whole people, that they are incapable of reaching a given point of elevation in the social scale, which has been attained not merely by all their neighbours, but even by various branches of their own race within the same quarter of the earth.

As containing unanswerable reasons against the entertainment of a notion so absurd in itself and so injurious to the Irish nation, I shall here content myself with the following brief but pregnant statements, derived from the recent publications of two eminent writers:

"In his own country, exposed to the wretched under-lessee system and under-agent system of Ireland; to the discontented spirit of a priesthood, which we have treated as if we desired to render it inimical to our government; to the galling sense of foreign rule, suggested by the presence of English soldiers; and to the irritating thought that his rent goes to aggrandise the splendour of a distant capital, and that the hall of his landlord is deserted, the Irishman becomes discontented, idle, rebellious, and criminal. Send him to Australia, to the States, or to any English colony, where he can make himself, by industry, a proprietor of land, and where he is not shackled by middle-age legislation, and he becomes immediately the most energetic and conservative of colonists. He there acquires faster than any one else; he effects more in a day than any one else; he is more untiring in his perseve-

rance than any one else; and he forces his rulers to write home to England,—as the Governor of South Australia did but a few years ago, —that the Irish are the most enterprising, successful, and orderly of all the colonists of those distant lands."—*Kay's Social Condition of the People*, vol. i, pp. 89.

"Almost alone amongst mankind the Irish cottier is in this condition, that he can scarcely be either better or worse off by any act of his own. If he were industrious or prudent nobody but his landlord would gain; if he is lazy or intemperate, it is at his landlord's expense. A situation more devoid of motives to either labour or self-command, imagination itself cannot conceive. The inducements of free human beings are taken away, and those of a slave not substituted. He has nothing to hope, and nothing to fear, except being dispossessed of his holding, and against this he protects himself by the *ultima ratio* of a defensive civil war. Rockism and Whiteboyism are the determination of a people, who have nothing that can be called theirs but a daily meal of the lowest description of food, not to submit to being deprived of that for other people's convenience.

"Is it not, then, a bitter satire on the mode in which opinions are formed on the most important problems of human nature and life, to find public instructors of the greatest pretension, imputing the backwardness of Irish industry, and the want of energy of the Irish people in improving their condition, to a peculiar indolence and *insouciance* in the Celtic race? Of all vulgar modes of escaping from the consideration of the effect of social and moral influences on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences. What race would not be indolent and insouciant when things are so arranged, that they derive no advantage from forethought or exertion? If such are the arrangements in the midst of which they live and work, what wonder if the listlessness and indifference so engendered are not shaken off the first moment an opportunity offers when exertion would really be of use? It is very natural that a pleasure loving and sensitively organised people like the Irish, should be less addicted to steady routine labour than the English, because life has more excitements for them independent of it; but they are not less fitted for it than their Celtic brethren the French, nor less so than the Tuscans, or the ancient Greeks. An excitable organization is precisely that in which, by adequate inducements, it is easiest to kindle a spirit of animated exertion. It speaks nothing against the capacities of industry in human beings, that they will not exert themselves when they

have no motive."[1]—*Mill's Principles of Political Economy*, vol. i, pp. 390–1.

2. The second preliminary observation I wish to make, has reference to the condition of Ireland relatively to that of other countries, and particularly England. It is customary to speak of the state of the Irish peasantry, as if their condition of wretchedness was quite peculiar, and in no degree shared by other countries; and in studying the means of their improvement, it seems to be tacitly assumed that we need have no other or higher aim than to place them on a level with the peasantry of England. Unquestionably, it would be a considerable improvement on the old cottier-and-potato-system of Ireland, if the labourers of that country were placed on the footing of the agricultural labourers of England; but it would be to employ a false and most unjust standard of amelioration, if we were to consider the actual state and condition of the English labourer, as all that need be sought to be attained in planning the elevation of the lower classes of Ireland. The truth undoubtedly is, that though not quite so low in the scale as the potato-fed, hovel-lodged, and half-clad cottier of Ireland, the English agricultural labourer is far below the position, as to physical

[1] In corroboration of the above statements, I add the following testimony of one of the most experienced and most distinguished generals in the British service; it is extracted from a note recently written, and now lying before me:

"My own opinion is that the Irish are a more steady people than the English; and I believe that a larger proportion of the non-commissioned officers of the British army are Irish than English."

comforts and intellectual cultivation, which he ought to occupy in this country of overflowing riches, and in this age of advanced civilisation.

It forms no part of my present business to investigate the causes of the depressed state of the English peasantry, or to suggest any means for its improvement; but knowing the existence of this state as a notorious matter of fact, and deeply feeling the necessity of a change, I should regard it as a species of deceit and treachery towards the labouring class of Ireland, if any set of men, or any government, undertaking the task of their improvement, should consider that they had no higher task to fulfil than to bring them up to the level of the same class in England at the present time. Such an elevation may be a very proper, and even a necessary step in the progress towards a better state, but it can never be regarded as the ultimate object at which the social reformer should aim.

3. My third and last general observation relates to the mode in which the relief or cure of the evils of Ireland—supposing their existence ascertained—should be attempted. And I have to crave the reader's indulgence for putting it in the form of a professional illustration, as naturally suggested to the mind of a physician, by the (to him) household words "relief and cure." I hope the illustration, though medical, will be found to be perfectly intelligible.

In the treatment of chronic diseases, or diseases of long-standing, in the body natural, there are two very different modes followed by physicians; one of which may be called natural or rational, the other empirical. The physician who conforms to the first of the two systems, endeavours, before prescribing for his patient, to ascertain not merely the nature, complexion, and extent of the whole of the disordered states actually present, but to trace them back to their origin, striving to make out the especial circumstances under which they originated, their primary causes, progress, duration, &c. &c. Having done so, he seeks, in the first place, (unless there should be some very urgent morbid condition requiring immediate temporary relief by artificial means,) to institute such a system of GENERAL MANAGEMENT as shall, as far as practicable, embrace the whole of the disordered conditions and their causes, and so endeavour to make nature herself unwind, in her own way, the many-plied thread of disorder which had been so gradually and so long growing up into the bulk of formal disease.

The sole system of management capable of producing such a result, is that which physicians term REGIMEN, comprehending within its range the habits and mode of life of the individual, and all the controllable influences that act on the body and mind. The more prominent points of this natural method of cure may be stated to have reference to the regulation of the diet in all its forms; the regu-

lation of the exercise of the body and mind; change of injurious habits of all kinds, bodily and mental; change of scene; the removal and substitution of moral influences; the open air; change of air; bathing in all its forms; friction, shampooing, gymnastics, &c. &c. Along with the particular form of regimen suited to the individual case, medicines, or medicaments, technically so called, are prescribed as *auxiliaries*, to fulfil any special indication which they are capable of fulfilling, and which the regiminal treatment may be insufficient to meet.

In the second or empirical method of treating chronic diseases, the physician reverses the above method; placing all, or nearly all, his trust in medicaments, and regarding regiminal treatment as merely of occasional and subordinate use, imagining that he possesses, in the innumerable articles of the *materia medica*, instruments qualified to combat successfully each individual disorder that is of a curable kind; and he acts accordingly. If, as often happens, the morbid affections are, thereby, after a time, removed, the empirical or medicamentous practitioner is in the habit of believing that the greater part of the result is attributable to his artificial remedies, and little or none of it to the ordinary operation of nature and time. Occasionally, however, this artificial mode of practice is positively injurious, directly or indirectly, by interfering with the natural processes of cure;

and its best results are apt to be only palliative and temporary, the system being left with the same morbid tendencies as before, almost certainly to be fostered into the same or similar diseases by the same or similar causes.

The result in the case of the rational or regiminal system of treatment is very different; the cure, when it takes place, being often of a permanent kind, because it is mainly the work of nature herself, and because the very tendencies to disease are either removed in the process of cure, or are checked by the patient's having become acquainted with the causes of his malady, and thus placed in a position to prevent its recurrence.

Now, in regarding the generally depressed, disturbed, and disordered state of Ireland, in the light of a social or national malady to be relieved or cured, I earnestly and confidently submit that (speaking analogically) it is on the principles of the NATURAL, RATIONAL, OR REGIMINAL SYSTEM OF CURE alone, that any attempt likely to lead to satisfactory results can be founded. It is only by looking carefully at all the individual disorders that together constitute her disease,—by tracing them to their respective sources, and following their progress to their present state of development, that anything like a just knowledge of the nature of the evils to be removed can be obtained; and it is only by employing some comprehensive system of treatment,

—a system comprising many individual modes, applicable respectively to the many individual disorders constituting the great general disease,—that they can be relieved or cured.

The short-sighted empirical politician may select some individual evil, and magnifying it, in his imagination, into the whole disease, may apply his nostrum accordingly, and look with confidence for a speedy cure. And a cure he may possibly obtain—at least a temporary one—of the particular disorder attacked; but it will soon be found that even although the particular disorder should *not* return, the patient's state is very little improved, the great constitutional malady still existing as before.

I shall now proceed to notice in order, but briefly, some of those points in the past and present state of Ireland, which have most attracted the attention of those who have sought to solve the mystery of her misfortunes. As already stated, I profess to institute no profound investigations into causes, nor to propound any grand system of relief for these misfortunes. My observations are avowedly partial and fragmentary, and have no higher aim than to take their humble place among the mass of materials already collected on the same subject, all of which, it is to be hoped, will ere long obtain the attention of some statesman worthy of the name, and whose proud destiny it may be to mould them into a form of perpetual good for Ireland.

1. Not many years since, one of the most obvious of the evils of Ireland was certainly OVER-POPULATION; the mouths being too many for the food produced, the hands too numerous and too strong for the work to be done. This evil may be now said to exist no longer; the people having, of late years, been so thinned, by famine and disease, and yet more by emigration, that the population may now be regarded as neither beyond the amount of the demand for labour nor of the supply of food; or, at least, is not beyond the amount of labour that ought to be required for the due cultivation of the soil; or beyond the amount of food that the land is capable of producing, if duly cultivated. It is indeed true that, as yet, the demand for labour is insufficient to create occupation for all the hands ready to accept it; and that the remuneration for labour, when obtained, is much below its real value. I mean merely to assert that there is now no absolute over-population in the country, to be regarded, as formerly, as a direct evil requiring remedy. On the contrary, it is to be feared that, if the present rage for emigration should continue a few years longer, the old evil of superfluity will be exchanged for the new evil of deficiency.

It is to be hoped, however, that the ameliorations now in progress, as regards the increase both of culture and capital, may, before long, by regulating the demand and supply, greatly improve the condition of the labourer in all its aspects, if they do

not entirely remove all the evils under which he has so long laboured. Such amelioration I regard as the sole means capable of keeping emigration within salutary and safe limits; and if it is not speedily effected, it will be found to come after the evil is consummated.

11. Coincident with the evil of over-population, and, indeed, the main cause of it, was the COTTIER SYSTEM and cottier modes of life, so universally prevalent in Ireland until these recent years. Assuredly, no greater evil could befall a country than the establishment of such a system; and however lamentable may have been the influences and the means whereby it has been broken up in Ireland, every well-wisher of that country must rejoice at its downfall. Through this system and its accompaniment,—the grand element of its vitality, potato-food,—the people were debased to nearly the condition of savage life. Secure of the means to maintain life and health by a minimum amount of labour, and in the absence of all stimulus to make them seek to rise above the low level in which they were born, they seemed almost to forget that man was a progressive animal, or had any nobler functions to fulfil, than to preserve individual life and to perpetuate the race.

Under such circumstances, of course, the humanising influences of superior civilisation were but little known or regarded; and though the genial

and docile nature of the race, and the rigid supervision of their spiritual superiors, might keep them strictly within the pale of religion and morality, their whole *status*, physical and intellectual, came too near that of the mere animal to be regarded with other feelings than those of pity and fearful apprehension by all who had the happiness to partake of the blessings belonging to the higher stages of human life.

As already stated, this form of Irish life, with its accompanying miseries, has been fairly broken in upon, and may be regarded as in the process of being gradually extinguished. This extinction, every one will admit to be essential to the progress of the lower classes of Ireland, towards a better position; but it would be a great error to believe that the extinction, of itself, would achieve this position. All that has been hitherto effected is to render such possible; much, very much, remains to be done before it can be secured.

It may suffice, for the present, to convert the cottier and his sons into day-labourers, like the great mass of the English peasantry; and if they can thus obtain a sufficiency of occupation, and a reasonable remuneration for it, their condition will, undoubtedly, be very superior to their former one; and no material change in their relations need, perhaps, be contemplated for some considerable time. But the status of the agricultural labourer, on the best English model now presented to us, is

clearly one which cannot, in the nature of things, be of a permanent kind; which ought not to be so if it were possible so to make it. It would, therefore, be a very short-sighted and imperfect policy that should regard the existing condition of the peasantry in this country, as the final stage of advancement for the rural population of Ireland.

Until measures shall be devised not merely to ensure "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work," for all the willing and capable labourers in the land, but to render it possible for them, or for some of them at least, to rise above their servile condition, through superior industry and good conduct, never shall we see that measure of content, comfort, and happiness among our peasantry which they may fairly claim from the justice of governments, as their inalienable right, until forfeited by their own acts.

I am well aware that a labouring class must exist in all countries occupied by civilised men; and I am disposed to believe, not only that there is nothing incompatible with happiness in the conditions necessarily imposed on such a class, but that its members, when possessing legitimate privileges, are fully as happy, if not happier, than the classes above them. But I consider as one of these legitimate privileges, the *possibility* of the individuals constituting the class, rising to a higher level, or at least to a more desired station, than that which they occupy as day-labourers. Such a rise is, in the present state of things in England or Ireland, lite-

rally impossible,—at least in the line of the man's own occupation. Once an agricultural labourer, always an agricultural labourer, seems to be the decree of the gloomy fate ruling the destiny of these men, and ever sounding in their ears and hearts the paralysing accents of despair.

I will dwell no longer on this painful and fruitful theme, but merely to state that all the boon sought for the labourer, in addition to his fairly-earned wages, is simply the adoption in our islands of some of the arrangements existing in many continental states, whereby a possibility is opened up to the agricultural labourer to become the proprietor of a small portion of that soil he is accustomed to till, or at least to become its temporary master through the payment of a reasonable rental. I am by no means recommending that general subdivision of the land which obtains in some countries, being averse to the existence neither of large territorial properties, nor of large farms: all that I desiderate, as being essential to the content and happiness of our peasantry, is the existence throughout the country of a certain proportion of these small properties and these small farms, sufficiently numerous to make the hope reasonable in the breast of any labourer, that by superior industry and economy and self-restraint, he may, one day or other, become the permanent or temporary lord of one of these humble domains.

Although the slightest reflection on the subject must convince any man of the beneficial influences

that must flow from the simple arrangement referred to, it may be as well to have the conviction strengthened by the experience of countries where the system of small farms and peasant proprietors prevails. For this purpose I earnestly recommend the perusal of a book more than once quoted in these pages—Mr. Kay's 'Social Condition of the People in England and Europe'—in which will be found such a mass of authentic facts, all bearing on the subject, and all concurring in the support of the views advocated above, as must, I think, convince the most sceptical. My space will only allow me to quote one small passage from the hundred of the same kind with which the work overflows :—

"To illustrate still more clearly the great subdivision of landed property in Prussia, Dr. Shubert, in his excellent work on the 'Statistics of the Kingdom of Prussia,' informs us, that there are in Prussia 257,347 estates, each of which is between 240 acres and 50 acres in size; 314,533 estates, each of which is less than 50 acres in size; and 668,400 persons (without reckoning the owners of the abovementioned estates), some of whom have each of them a small house of their own, whilst the remainder are labourers for others, and do not possess a house or any land of their own, but are allowed by their masters a field for the support of one or two cows.

"Owing also to the impossibility of tying up the land by settlements, mortgages, long leases, or wills, and to the great simplicity and cheapness of the mode of conveying an estate from a seller to a purchaser, a great many estates of all sizes, and situated in all parts of these countries, are constantly changing hands, or being offered for sale in the markets.

"From these causes, people of all classes are able to become proprietors. Shopkeepers and labourers of the towns purchase gardens outside the towns, where they and their families work in the fine evenings, in raising vegetables and fruit for the use of their households; shopkeepers, who have laid by a little competence, purchase farms, to which they and their families retire from the toil and disquiet of a town life; farmers purchase the farms they used formerly to rent of great landowners; while most of the peasants of these countries have purchased and live upon farms of their own, or are now economising, and laying by all that they can possibly spare from their earnings, in order therewith as soon as possible to purchase a farm or a garden.

"It is this fact which, more than any other, distinguishes the social state of these countries from that of Great Britain and Ireland. The position of the peasant in the first-mentioned countries admits of hope, of enthusiasm, and of progress, for he knows that if he is economical and prudent, he may make himself a proprietor, and may climb the social ladder.

The position of the peasant in the last-mentioned countries is one of hopelessness, discontent, and stagnation; for what motive has he to induce self-denial, energy, and prudence; and what chance has he of improving his position in the world?

"It is possible for the poorest young man in Germany, Switzerland, the Tyrol, Belgium, Holland, France, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, to purchase a garden or a farm, if he is intelligent, prudent, and self-denying. It is a safer and more agreeable investment than that of a little shop, which is the only one open to a poor peasant in England. It seems to be inherent in man's nature to wish to possess land; and it is certain that there is no other inducement, which has half its force, in leading the poor man to give up present gratification for its sake. Few men will defer their marriage, or deny themselves the excitement of the tavern, or of the gambling-table, for the sake of becoming a shopman; but millions of peasants are at this moment on the continent of Europe putting off their marriages, abstaining from the use of spirits and from immoral gratifications, working double hours, striving with double diligence to please their employers, refraining from the strife of politics, and availing themselves of every opportunity of saving money, in the hope of purchasing a garden or a farm."—(Vol. i, pp. 57—59.)

III. ABSENTEEISM, as it is technically called, or

the abandonment of their estates as places of residence by the great Irish proprietors, has been one of the sources of evil to Ireland most dwelt on by those who have had to study the condition of that unhappy country. Unquestionably,

> Hâc fonte derivata clades
> In patriam populumque fluxit;

but still it cannot be regarded as one of the very first magnitude; and, whatever may have been its amount, it is certainly one greatly on the decrease. The Irish nobility and gentry have of late years spent more time on their paternal estates; and the fashion of the day, if we speak of no higher motives, has fortunately taken the side of residence. Not to mention the greater interest awakened in the minds of the proprietors for the condition of their people by recent events, the greatly increased facilities of transport to and from the country, the encomiums of tourists on the beauties of Ireland, &c., have all had a tendency to bring about a state of things more favorable to the rural population of Ireland. It is to be expected also that the recent change of property, made through the agency of the Encumbered Estates' Court, will have considerable effect in augmenting the number of resident proprietors; the absenteeism of many of the late owners being occasioned by their absolute inability to maintain the state supposed to be implied by the nominal possession of great property.

The change, therefore, as far as it goes, is de-

cidedly on the side of improvement; and there seems every reason to believe, that it is far from having as yet reached the height which it is destined to attain. The apprehension of personal danger from the discontented peasantry is being gradually dismissed from many minds which formerly entertained it; as the true character of the Irish people becomes better known, and as the causes which formerly led to such outrages are gradually decreasing. It is not easy to estimate too highly the value of the influence derived from a good and public-spirited resident landlord to his tenantry, and to all the labouring classes in his district; and no one who knows Ireland will doubt that the decrease of Absenteeism, or, in other words, the more extended and more continuous residence of her nobility and gentry, must be classed as among the material sources of the future prosperity of Ireland.

IV. Analogous in its effects to the Absenteeism of the lords of the soil, but of still more extensive influence for evil, is the absence, throughout the rural districts of Ireland, or comparative WANT OF RESIDENTS OF THE CLASS OF SMALL GENTRY, or well-to-do persons of the middle-class of society. In more than one place in these volumes I have referred to the sad loss sustained by the lowest classes from the want among them of this most important link in the social chain. It is, I believe,

mainly owing to the wide-spread presence of this middle-class in England, in the vicinity of her towns, in her villages and hamlets, and along the tract of her highways, that the labouring classes of this country owe much of the comfort they still possess, in spite of their scanty earnings and their hopelessness to rise above the low level of their condition. From this source they derive, for themselves and children, aid and support of every kind, in health and sickness; and what is almost of equal value, a pattern and example of improved modes of living, calculated to prevent them from sinking into that utter disregard of the decencies and proprieties of life, which we know to have bent the cottier peasantry of Ireland almost to the rudeness of savage life.

As the principal and most important members of this great intermediate class in England, I formerly named the Parochial Clergy, who, regarded simply as a body of resident gentry scattered throughout the whole breadth of the land, and without reference to their sacred calling, must be admitted to be, and always to have been, perennial beacons of light, and perennial fountains of good to the humbler classes amid whom they live. On the occasion referred to, I stated it be one of the chief misfortunes of the Irish people, that they were in a great measure deprived of this fruitful source of benefit, owing to the poverty of the Irish clergy, and the necessary limitation of the influence of the ministers of

he Established Church. It is to be hoped, how-ver, that among the means of amelioration yet in tore for Ireland, the planting of this middle class—oth lay and clerical—throughout all her rural dis-ricts, may be confidently looked to as one.

In a subsequent page I may have to reconsider his question in regard to the clergy; but I would ere beg to call the attention of the political econo-nist and statesman, to consider how a lay population f the kind indicated might be planted in the land. can only suggest the relaxation of those antiquated aws and precedents which have always made it so difficult for men of moderate or small fortunes to btain possession of limited portions of land in these slands; and express a hope that through the medium f the continued operation of the Encumbered Estates' Court, some means might be eventually secured for accomplishing so desirable an end. Peace and con-ent, and full security to life and property, being once established in Ireland, surely there are thou-sands to be found among her townsmen, who would delight to exchange the musty lanes and narrow streets where they had realised an independency, for the green valleys and charming hill-sides of the country, if they could find there properties of a size and price suited to their limited means. And when the vast importance of such changes, both to the individuals making them and to the district into which they would be made, is considered, it is not too much to look forward to the excogitation of

measures by some philanthropic statesman, to render them as practicable as they are desirable.

v. One of the longest-standing grievances of Ireland, and not the least in degree, is that which, for shortness, may be named OFFICIAL PARTIALITY, or POLITICAL FAVORITISM. The essence of this grievance consists in the nomination of persons to offices of trust, and to public situations generally, both low and high, not according to their general qualifications or claims or special fitness, but on political or religious grounds. It will be admitted that, in former times, the patronage of the Government, and still more that of Government officials, was frequently regulated on such principles, from the office of Lord-Lieutenant downwards. Of late years, however, and especially since the advent to power of the liberal party of statesmen, after the conclusion of the war, this evil has been greatly abated; and it may be now almost looked upon as in the process of gradual extinction. That the evil is, however, still in existence, though in a very mitigated form, must be admitted by every impartial visitor of Ireland; such existence being here and there manifested by the discontent and ill-blood which may be expected to flow from such a source. Among the instances of this official partiality complained of by the Catholics, may be mentioned the undue preference given to Protestantism and Orangeism in the nomination of magistrates; the

disproportion of Protestants holding the numerous small offices under government, &c. &c. Unquestionably, very unreasonable opinions on this head are held by many Catholics as well as Protestants; and, in the sharp rivalry, not to say the hostility, that exists between the two parties, it would be wise for the Government to take counsel, in such matters, from neither. This is a mode of proceeding more and more followed, I think, every day; and its yet greater development and final establishment, on the basis of real justice, without respect to extraneous considerations, may, in my opinion, be fairly set down as among the sources of good that are to be reckoned on as part of the future destiny of Ireland. Of course, no one who knows human nature, or has read history, will believe that the time will ever arrive when there shall be *no* favoritism or *no* partiality in such things. Such *Saturnia regna* only exist in the dreamland of the visionary who has not mingled in the world's affairs. It will, however, be much—and this, I think, may be reasonably anticipated—that the system of jobbing and partisanship shall, as a general rule, be superseded by the opposite system of regard for just claims and efficient administration.

VI. Of the numerous causes on the tongues of all men, adduced to account for the long-depressed state of Ireland, none has been more generally received, or believed to be of more importance, than what is

technically called WANT OF CAPITAL. This is, no doubt, a just representation of the facts; and no one will deny that an increase of the capital of the country must go hand in hand with the growth of its economical improvement. Indeed, the two things are rather identical than one the cause of the other. Were it possible to throw money into Ireland in mass and indiscriminately, as if it were a sovereign nostrum for the cure of all her ills, to do so would only be a little wiser than to throw it into Lough Neagh, to keep company with the submerged Towers: it could effect no permanent good for Ireland. But if capital could be gradually, and as it were imperceptibly, insinuated into the whole body and constitution of the country, through the medium of the hundred channels which seem to be naturally prepared for its reception, and in such manner as to be blended and assimilated with the more essential interests of the people, then, indeed, would the supply be found to be a potent remedy in the true meaning of the word. How this is to be effected I leave to the consideration of those whose economical and commercial knowledge fit them for judges in such a case. I can only hint at one or two of the more obvious modes which strike the ordinary observer.

1. The Encumbered Estates' Court is clearly one of these inlets, and must be effective to a certain extent. The new possessors of the estates must have the means of *paying their way*, at least, a thing

which, in itself, would be a considerable advance on the old rule; and it can scarcely be doubted that they will go far beyond this, and invest much additional capital in the improvement of their property. In improving their property they must, of necessity, improve the condition of those who are locally connected with it, whether tenants, tradesmen, or labourers. And if along with their money, they bring also the still more precious capital of permanent residence and paternal rule, such as becomes the lords of the people, the results will be proportionally great.

2. As portions of the same mode of benefiting Ireland by the introduction of capital, the great changes in the agricultural relations of the country, which have taken place of late years, and are still in progress, deserve attention. The great inroads made on the old cottier system by the consolidation of farms, presuppose a great investment of capital in the farms so consolidated. If this investment comes from the landlord, it may be regarded as so much gained to Ireland, as, if not so invested, it would have been probably spent beyond her bounds. If it comes from the tenants, it will be no less a positive gain to the country, as the great majority of the renters of the large farms recently created, are expected to come from abroad, that is, from England or Scotland. The mere occupation of any farm of large extent, involves the necessity of a considerable outlay of capital; and

this, whatever be its amount, must be added to the general stock, whether the undertaking requiring it proves successful or not. If the nature of the farms or the predilections of the farmers, determine the agricultural operations into the line of stock in place of grain, the immediate outlay will probably be still greater, and a proportionate addition be consequently made to the general capital.

3. Another most obvious mode of introducing capital into Ireland, and one which every successive year renders more likely of adoption, is the establishment of manufactures of different kinds to give occupation to her people. It cannot fail to strike every traveller in Ireland with surprise, when he sees the great amount of unemployed labour waiting to be purchased at the cheapest rate,—the vast extent of unclaimed motive power lying waste in the countless rivers that intersect the land,—and the boundless facility of communication with other countries, supplied by the magnificent harbours that indent her shores on every side;—that the country, with the exception of Ulster, is almost destitute of manufacturing establishments of any sort. The imperfect supply of coal in the country itself, is, no doubt, a drawback to the formation of such establishments; but considering the present facilities of transport from England, this defect can never suffice to counterbalance the great advantages pointed out, and to which others of almost equal force might be added.

It is, I believe, the ill name that Ireland has unfortunately acquired for turbulence and disregard of life and property, that has, to a considerable extent, delayed the more general establishment of manufactures on her soil. And it is now to be hoped, that the removal of this evil fame,—already effected, or in the process of being so,—will no longer prevent capitalists from turning their attention to Ireland, as an eligible field for their operations. They may rest assured, that nowhere will they find more ready and willing hands, or less interference with any of their proceedings.

VII. With want of capital, as one of the great primary sources of evil to Ireland, I have heard generally coupled another want of yet more vital import, the WANT OF ENTERPRISE in her people. Of the existence of this want, both in the past and present time, there need be no doubt: it meets the eye and the ear of the traveller in most parts of the island. It is, however, quite a separate question, whether the want so acknowledged belongs to the genius of the people, or whether it is an adventitious blemish derived from the circumstances amid which they have been so long placed, and from their imperfect appreciation of their own interest. No one will deny that the Irish, as a people, are generally disposed to have a close regard to what they consider as their own interests, (except, indeed, when the excitement of passion or enthusiasm may cast a

temporary mist before their eyes,) and that they are not likely to act in a way which they consider as opposed to this. The small farmer who has by industry and economy realized a sum of money, will not lay this by in his chest, or place it in the bank, if he believed that it would be equally safe and more productive if expended on his farm: it is his ignorance, not his nature, that makes him prefer the former course. A better education, a more extensive knowledge of business, would make him take the latter. I will not, therefore, admit among the essential sources of evil to Ireland the alleged want of enterprise of her people. They are enterprising enough when they see the way clear before them: they will be as enterprising as other men when they have been freed from the circumstances which have been long moulding them into forms not essential to their nature. In support of the accuracy of these statements, I might say, in demonstration of their truth, I refer back to the testimony of Mr. Mill and Mr. Kay, quoted in pp. 366-8, and in pp. 379-81.

VIII. Among the evils of Ireland, and indeed of almost all other countries as well as Ireland, must be reckoned THE WANT OF SUFFICIENT EDUCATION among the great mass of the people. Great and praiseworthy as are the efforts that have been made by the government to lessen this evil, by the institution of the National and Workhouse schools, as well as by private individuals and societies more

particularly in connection with religious instruction, no one will deny that the results are as yet far below the point which the good of society requires them to reach. It is consolatory however to reflect, that it is in the very nature of the educational efforts now making, to increase with time; and, as it cannot be imagined that the Government will interfere to check the progress of their results, we are justified in looking forward to a greatly improved education as among the ameliorating means available for Ireland.

I have purposely included the workhouse schools with the others, and in speaking of them here desire to comprehend the whole of the training received in them, whether of a literary and industrial, or domestic kind. It can hardly be imagined that the cultivation of the intellect from all these sources, and the examples set before the pupils, of personal propriety in every shape, should fail to communicate to the present youth of Ireland desires and tastes of a kind superior to those of their parents, and so influence for good the feelings and habits of the future men and women of the land—that is, of themselves. It would be an immense step gained in social progress, if we could implant feelings and ideas in the youthful mind that would recoil, in adult life, from the squalor of the unfurnished hovel and a diet shared with beasts; and surely it is not too much to expect that teachings and examples of the kind referred to, continued through many years, should produce such a result.

Here, then, we foresee one other source of improvement for the Ireland of the coming time.

IX. A very old Irish grievance, but one which has only, in recent times, assumed a conspicuous prominence, is that which is now known by the name of TENANT RIGHT. This grievance has been noticed in many of the preceding pages, and its nature pointed out, and the remedies proposed for it given in the words of the aggrieved themselves. The grievance is certainly real and great, and the agitation for it need not be expected to cease until relief is found. As more than one proposition to this effect, in the shape of an Act of Parliament, has already been introduced into the Legislature, we may safely conclude that an abatement of the evil will take place ere long, to a certain extent at least, if not to the full extent demanded by the complainants. That the relief thus to be obtained, however, must be considerable, need not be questioned, as no impartial observer can deny the reality of the wrong sought to be redressed, or the practicability of redressing it partially, at least, if the subject is taken up in sincerity and earnestness. It may, indeed, be almost impracticable to make up to the present tenants the full amount of their losses from this cause in the time that is past: something, however, will be done even in this respect; while, in regard to the future, measures positively preventive of a recurrence of the evil may be devised and established with little

difficulty. We may, then, fairly reckon on the granting of some form of Tenant Right as certain; and although this form may fall short of general expectation, or even of justice, it cannot fail to be, *pro tanto*, a means of bettering the condition of the tenant farmers, and must consequently be added to the stock of ameliorative means already in progress for the future benefit of Ireland.

x. I have reserved for the last head of my inquiry, one of the gravest of the evils of Ireland, and for which there appears in the prospects of the future no healing balm of speedy efficacy: I refer to THE RELATIONS OF THE ENGLISH AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCHES to the people and to one another. Although repudiating throughout this whole inquiry the charlatanic idea that the multiplex malady of Ireland could be cured by any one remedy or nostrum, and denying that the suppression or removal of any one of its symptoms, however prominent or severe, could be regarded as anything more than a partial and temporary relief, I am bound to admit that the disturbing influence of the individual evils may vary immensely;—that while the persistence or cure of one may be but a matter of trifling import, the persistence or cure of another may be a thing of the most vital consequence.

The matter now to be considered,—the existing state of the two Churches,—is an evil of this latter kind; its persistence being capable of depriving all

other ameliorations of more than half their value, and its removal allowing them all to operate freely, according to their intrinsic powers. In this respect, then, this question of the Churches, though not in itself the essence of Ireland's peace and prosperity, becomes the hinge on which they turn; its settlement will allow all other questions to be settled; its non-settlement involves the non-settlement of all other questions.

This evil of the Churches, or THE RELIGIOUS GRIEVANCE, as it may be more briefly named, consists mainly in this, that in a country essentially Catholic,[1] there is established by law a Protestant Church, which is the exclusive recipient of the ecclesiastical revenues dedicated by the state for the payment of the ministers of religion, the grievance being immensely aggravated by the consideration, that the ministers of the new or state church were forced, as it were by conquest, into the places of the ministers of the old church, obtaining all their revenues, yet leaving all, or nearly all, the work to be done by the dispossessed and degraded clergy of the ancient church.

I am not very solicitous whether this be considered a strictly accurate or logical definition of the grievance or not; it is quite sufficient for my purpose if it indicate the general facts known to

[1] I may as well state here that in most of my subsequent remarks, I refer to the three Catholic provinces only, and exclude Ulster, which may fairly be considered as much Protestant as Catholic.

all:—that the Catholic Church was the original Church of Ireland; that it still continues to be the Church of nineteen twentieths of the people in the three Catholic provinces; that the church revenues originally belonging to the Catholic clergy have been entirely taken from them, and bestowed upon their Protestant brethren; that the Protestant clergy are consequently rich, or comparatively rich, while the Catholic clergy are extremely poor; that the former have fine houses and fine churches built and supported by the state, while the Catholic priests have neither; that the doctrines of the Protestant church are considered by the Catholics to be, in a great measure, false, while they entertain the most profound conviction of the truth of their own; and that, consequently, they (the Catholics) entertain a strong religious horror of Protestantism, and the most intense love of, and devotion to, their own faith.

Now, any one who considers these facts simply in their relation to human beings generally, must inevitably come to the conclusion, independently of all experience of the particular case, that the existence of content, and satisfaction, and peace in the minds of the clergy of the old church, if not an actual impossibility, is an event which no reasonable mind has a right to expect, much less to calculate on. Its existence would, indeed, be miraculous, except under the supposition of the eradication of all human passion and feeling from

the heart. Such a miracle not having been worked, the fact undoubtedly is, that the feelings which reason and all experience would lead us to predicate as existing in the minds of the Catholic clergy of Ireland, do exist there. They look with a discontented eye on their own state, and on the state of the clergy of the Protestant church; they feel that their own church and its pastors have been, and continue to be, most unjustly dealt with; and all who know them must be aware that the sentiment most deeply engraven on their hearts, next to their love and obedience to their church, is the desire to see the wrongs of their faith vindicated, and their own rights restored.

In making this representation of the sentiments of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, it is but fair to add, that these sentiments are very far from being ostentatiously entertained. On the contrary, although the idea is a fixed one, it is *alta mente repostum*, never unnecessarily brought to light, never paraded before the common eye. In the present apparent hopelessness of redress, the watchword that at once regulates and restrains is "*Bide your time;*" the conviction that, some day or other, this redress will come, being as profound, as vivid, and as universal, as is the sense of the wrong. It is only when such excitement is applied as flows from a contested election, or some other public proceeding involving considerations of Church and State, that the hidden fire leaves the heart for the lips and hand.

Under such circumstances, and with such disturbing feelings in the minds of all, it is really most surprising that the habitual conduct of the priests should (with a few extraordinary exceptions) present, what it is universally admitted to present—a very pattern of patience and industry in their sacred vocation, and a devotedness to its duties which cannot be excelled. They seem to act as if the hope of their restoration to dignity and power, was solely founded on their confidence in God's justice and not in any secular acts of themselves or other men.

In these feelings of dissatisfaction, from the consciousness of wrong, as well as in the desire for redress and reparation, all the more instructed lay-Catholics of Ireland participate; and being less restrained by a sense of duty in another direction, they are much less scrupulous in avowing their sentiments, or in endeavouring to give them vitality in more immediate action. The expression of them, accordingly, never fails to break out when a reasonable opportunity presents itself for their display.

Among the lower or labouring classes of the people, the same feelings exist, but in a very subdued degree; being only a little more vivid or warm, than are those which linger among the legendary visions of Ireland's ancient glory, and of its destruction by the Saxon; or which float around their day dreams of reconquest and vengeance.

The humble men of Ireland are too much engrossed with the present objects of sense, too much

distressed with the hardships of their own lot, and too deeply interested in procuring the bare necessaries of daily life, to have much thought to give to matters that do not concern them immediately. But the very condition which so painfully absorbs their habitual attention, must be allowed to afford the best materials for the propagation and corroboration of discontent with things of more general import, should they ever be submitted to them by their superiors. They must therefore be looked on as constituting a very important element, potentially at least, in the general mass of discontent existing in Ireland on account of the grievance now under consideration.

Now, what prospects have we in the future, of the removal of this, the most vital of all the ills of Ireland—the Religious Grievance? I own I can see none, that is to say, none that is likely to arise naturally, as it were, or in the ordinary progress of events; as we have shown to be probable at least, if not certain, in the case of most of the other evils of Ireland.

If, indeed, the desires and hopes of amiable but visionary enthusiasts, could be accepted by reasonable minds as grounds for safe calculation, then might we believe that the progress of Protestantism in Ireland would ere long solve the riddle, and annihilate the difficulty, by leaving the whole population of that country of one faith, in which case, what is now felt to be a grievance and a wrong, would

become the source of consolation and blessing, and be universally recognised as just and right. But, alas, this consideration can have no place in the minds of those who have any pretensions to be fair judges in a case like this; it is truly "such stuff as dreams are made of," and deserves no graver reception at the hands of philosophers or philosophic statesmen.

One of this latter class, the late Sir Robert Peel, in claiming the sanction of the House of Commons to his noble measure for improving the education of the Catholic Clergy in Ireland, told the members of that branch of the Legislature, so late as the year 1845, that, think what they might, do what they would, the Catholic religion *would continue to be the religion of millions in Ireland.*[1]

Sir Robert did not attempt to state the period of this continuance; but I cannot doubt that, if he had been considering the question under the present point of view, he would have been ready to admit that it would be madness to postpone any intended amelioration of the condition of the people, on the faith of such a contingency as their conversion to Protestantism.

I hold the converse view of the case, entertained

[1] "We believe that it is perfectly compatible to hold steadfast the profession of our faith without wavering, and, at the same time, to improve the education and to elevate the character of those who—do what you will—pass this measure or refuse it—will continue to be the spiritual guides and religious instructors of millions of your fellow-countrymen."—*Debate of April* 3, 1845.

by other enthusiasts equally amiable and visionary, namely, that the Catholic faith will, at no very distant day, become the exclusive religion of Ireland, to be worthy of no graver regard; and therefore I am compelled to consider the difficulty as one that admits of no natural or spontaneous solution, but that, if dealt with at all, it must be dealt with extrinsically, or from without.

Now, the sole power capable of so dealing with it, is the imperial Legislature; and if it should decline to do so indefinitely, it and the people of England must be prepared to see indefinitely postponed the settlement of Ireland's difficulties, and the very foundations of her prosperity still remain to be laid in the peace and content of her people.

It is a common argument much in favour with men of a certain caliber of mind, that so long as the external or physical conditions of life are sufficient for ordinary animal enjoyment and compatible with moderate freedom of action, are attained, nothing more is necessary for the content and happiness of the individual; and that so long as these are secured to him by the government under which he lives, he has no right to complain of his lot or to seek to alter it. This has been the plea of tyranny and despotism from the beginning of time; and seems to be the motive principle now directing the movements of the state-machine of many of the continental nations. Carried a little farther, it is the same argument that has been

brought in defence of slavery itself, on the ground that slaves are less severely worked, better fed, more warmly clothed, more carefully doctored, than the peasantry of many free countries.

The employers of this class of arguments seem almost to ignore the psychical part of man, or at least to overlook that nobler portion of his mind which raises him altogether above mere animal life. Even when used in their least offensive form, and in their mildest degree, such arguments are altogether false and invalid, inasmuch as it is his moral and intellectual state, and not his mere animal or bodily state, that man considers as that part of what he calls himself, which claims his chief regard, and must take the first place in all considerations affecting his well-being and happiness. The mind is the man; the mind's happiness is the man's happiness: *mens agitat molem.*

Never, then, let it be argued, in regard to the Irish clergy, or, indeed, in regard to any set of men, that because they are well enough circumstanced in respect of their physical or bodily condition, (and it is perhaps straining the argument on the side of their opponents to admit so much in regard to the Roman Catholic Clergy,) because they are in no way interfered with in any of their social relations; because they have the same free scope of action as all their fellow citizens, and, most of all, have the unrestricted liberty to perform all the functions of their holy office, they ought, therefore, to be con-

tented with their actual lot, and not allow their souls to be disquieted by a state of things brought about by no act of theirs, for which they are therefore in no way responsible, and which, moreover, took place generations before they were born, and has been the heritage of their predecessors as well as of themselves.

On the grounds just stated, it is, to my mind, an all-sufficient reply to such arguments, to state the simple fact that the circumstances under which the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland are placed, and by no fault of their own, *do* painfully affect their minds, *do* disturb their peace, *do* and *must* and *will*, through them, greatly interfere with the tranquillity and happiness and prosperity of their country, so long as these circumstances are permitted to exist in their present intensity, or indeed at all.

The only agency by which these circumstances can be effectually changed, I have already stated to be an act of the Legislature; and the only change that can be effectual—that will, in other words, lead, through the removal of discontent, to the future peace and prosperity of Ireland, is THE PLACING OF THE TWO CHURCHES ON THE SAME FOOTING IN RELATION TO THE STATE. Tinkering and cobbling and botching politicians may stitch and patch and pin and paste and rivet and solder and shorten and lengthen and straiten and widen; but all will be in vain towards attaining the end desired—all, save the measure just enunciated,

that shall place the rival churches on the same level.

The Legislature assuredly can do this; the Legislature, I believe, will one day do this; because one day it will be convinced, not merely of the justice, but of the absolute necessity of the act. This day is probably yet far distant, but its advent is not the less sure. In the meantime it would be an easy task to show that there is no valid reason why it might not be done now, and a thousand reasons why it should and ought to be done soon. Into this discussion, however, it is not my purpose to enter at any length; but before closing the subject I should like to touch on a few of the more salient points in the arguments *pro* and *con*.

1. One great argument employed by Protestants against the admission of Catholics to equal privileges with themselves, indeed, against their being tolerated in any way, is that the religious doctrines professed by them being false, ought to be in no way countenanced, much less encouraged by those of the better faith. The arguers on this principle even contend, that the Protestant government of a Protestant country, like England, is bound by its obligations towards the national religion, not to countenance, and, still more, not to protect or promote a belief that is false, and a practice that is superstitious.

With this or any other opinion entertained by

individuals respecting the faith of their neighbours, no one, of course, has any business to interfere: they have a perfect right to entertain, on this subject, any opinion they please, and to act on it within the bounds of the law. The individual members of government, in their private capacity, have unquestionably the same privilege, and are at perfect liberty to indulge whatever opinions they may entertain, on this or any other subject. When, however, they come to act as a government, they are bound by very different obligations, and have to consider, not what is false or true in opinions, but only what is right or wrong in act. In this point of view, they cannot, by possibility, have anything to do with the doctrines of Catholics, whether false or true, so long as these doctrines do not issue in acts contrary to the laws of the land or to the welfare of the state; and they are bound, as a government, to see equal justice done to them as to all others of the Queen's subjects.

But this question of truth or falsehood in regard to religious doctrines is one which, if it were desirable to settle, can never be decided by any human tribunal. Individuals may decide this in their own minds; and they are as perfectly justified in acting on the conclusions arrived at by themselves, as if these conclusions could be made equally clear to all the world. Religious belief being a matter of opinion, must be judged by man's opinion. It is not in the nature of things that its truth can be

proved, in the manner of disputed events by testimony, or as facts in science by physical demonstration. If we empannel a jury of twelve of the most learned and honestest Protestants in Europe, to try the question of whether the Protestant or Catholic religion is truest or best, we shall have an unanimous verdict in favour of Protestantism. If, on the other hand, we select twelve catholics, equally learned and just, with Dr. Newman and Mr. Manning at their head, as being versed *utroque jure*, we as surely will expect and shall receive a verdict on the opposite side of the question. It is perfectly obvious, therefore, that no ground of exclusion from any of the rights of citizenship can be found against the catholics on the mere ground of the falseness of their religious views.

2. But it is further argued,—the Catholic religion, though not demonstrably false as matter of doctrine, may, as a code of belief and practice, be shown to be detrimental to the secular and social well-being of its own members, and so be brought within the restrictive authority of government, as the natural protectors and guardians of all the subjects of the realm. The enforced celibacy of the priests, the segregation of men and women in monasteries and convents, the practices of confession and absolution, the maintenance of unnecessary holidays, &c. &c., may be advanced as illustrations of the grounds on which official interference might be justifiable. But arguments based on such grounds

are utterly untenable: they are overthrown, at once, by the one comprehensive argument applicable to all cases of conduct, viz., that the citizens of a free country have an inalienable right to determine their own modes of life and proceedings, so long as such proceedings do not interfere with the rights of their fellow subjects, with the law of the land, or the general well-being of the state.

3. An argument of a like kind, but of much greater relevancy, is founded on the allegation that there are several things in the Catholic doctrines and practice which are more or less incompatible with that free action of communities which leads to social improvement and progress, as well as with the individual loyalty and allegiance which every subject owes to his legitimate sovereign. The principal things referred to in this objection are, I presume, the following:—1, the fettering of the mind by the practice of confession; 2, the freeing it, beyond the boundaries of law and morals, by the practice of absolution and indulgences; 3, the submission of the clergy to a foreign prince or prelate, the Pope.

In regard to the first two circumstances here noticed, confession and absolution, and, indeed, in regard to several other doctrines and practices of the Catholic church, I think it cannot be denied that they *are* more or less obstructive of man's progress in secular civilization, as well as in his attainment of that freedom of thought and inde-

pendence of action which should be the inheritance and portion of every member of a free state. And herein, at least, Protestantism, according to my humble judgment, may prefer a very positive claim of superiority over her rival.

But opinions on this point will vary according to the relative estimation in which worldly and non-worldly things are held by those who have to form the opinions. It will probably be claimed by the Catholics, as the highest glory of their religion, that it *does* the very thing I complain of. At any rate, it seems certainly to be in the very essence of this religion to lead to a practical depreciation of secular concerns, in relation to things not of this world.

In the exercise of the Protestant religion, secular and post-secular things seem to be more harmoniously combined, and the pursuit of those in the one category to the utmost extent consistent with the human faculties, is, in no way, regarded as inconsistent with all necessary devotion to the other.

It would seem, therefore, to be true, that the Catholic religion is less favorable than Protestantism to man's progress in civilization, to the culture of some of his powers, and to the attainment of worldly prosperity and power. But such an admission in no way justifies the conclusion, that the followers of Catholicism are, therefore, to be in any way interfered with for persisting in the faith and

practices that lead to such results. These results, if injurious, affect only themselves ; and there is no human authority that can forbid a man choosing his own lot, whether good or bad, so long as this choice involves no breach of his obligations to the state or to his fellow subjects. To use the words of Lord John Russell, in a recent debate in parliament, "Are you, on account of what you believe to be the errors of his faith, to deprive a man of political power and civil privileges ?"

The question of the spiritual obedience of the Roman Catholic clergy to a foreign bishop, is one which, at first sight, wears an aspect very different from the points already discussed, and seems much less easily disposed of by arguments from the same armoury. Theoretically, indeed, it is perhaps hardly possible so to dispose of it ; but regarded practically, as a matter of experience, and in its probable bearings as judged by common sense, not by the fears of a hostile party, it really dwindles into the same insignificance as the others. Stretched to its utmost extreme, the foreign domination cannot extend beyond things spiritual and ecclesiastical ; and whether the mandate regulating these, issues from the pen of a bishop living in Rome or in Dublin, is, or rather ought to be, a matter of little moment to the British nation. If the one arrangement is more acceptable to our Catholic fellow subjects than the other, I see no very substantial reason why they should not be indulged in

their predilection. If the Pope were mad enough to issue orders injurious to the political or social condition of this country, and in his capacity of prince, not of bishop; such orders, I doubt not, would be just as much disobeyed by the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, as if they owed him no spiritual homage. And, besides, our England has not yet fallen so low in its own esteem, or in its consciousness of dignity and power, as to permit either a foreign or domestic priest, be he of what religion he may, to usurp any secular power beyond the right of a subject, or to commit a breach of any established law with impunity.

On the whole, then, and in conclusion, I would say, that if it be for the good of Ireland that the two churches of that country should be put on an equal footing; or, in other words, that the great RELIGIOUS GRIEVANCE should be abated; there is nothing in the religion or the religious relations of the Irish Catholics, to prevent this being done with perfect safety to the state and without injury or wrong to the people at large.

The sole question now remaining to be considered is THE WAY in which the proposed change could be effected, with the least possible injury to any class of her Majesty's subjects, and with the greatest amount of benefit to all concerned.

I make no pretensions to have anything new to advance on this head; and I merely give the following meager outlines of plans, in order that no

doubt may remain on the reader's mind as to the practical extent to which I think the views propounded above should be carried.

The easiest and simplest mode of bringing about the equalization of the Churches is that which, by merely putting an end to the present Church establishment, would leave all the three Churches of Ireland in the same predicament of Free or Voluntary Churches, to look for support from their respective members; the revenues of the present Church being assumed by the state, and devoted to the purposes of national education.

A second mode, would be, for the state, after the assumption of the Church revenues, to redistribute them equally among all the ministers of the three Churches; the national education being supported, as at present, by government.

Of course, the revenues of the livings would not be assumed by the state until after the death of the present incumbents; and means might be devised for satisfying or indemnifying individuals for their loss of patronage. At the period of the Reform Bill, scores of Boroughs that were the private property of individuals, and had been bought at high prices, were sacrificed for the good of the country, without any other compensation being given to the patrons; and I do not see a great difference between the two cases.

Where the tithes are all the bonâ fide property of individuals, their proprietary rights must, of

course, be respected : there being a wide difference between a pecuniary income and mere patronage.

Whatever arrangement should be adopted, it would be requisite that the bishops of the two churches possessing such dignitaries, should be paid by the state.

Of these two modes of dealing with this great matter, I confess I have a strong leaning in favour of that which contemplates the paying of the clergy, mainly on the ground of its being a thing of great moment to the lower classes, to have resident among them gentlemen every way independent, and enabled by their worldly means and social *status*, to be at once counsellors, guardians, and patterns to their humble neighbours.

But to neither the one nor the other of these modes, nor, indeed, to any plan yet proposed, do I feel myself bound to adhere with a positive preference. The best plan shall be my plan; but the responsibility, as well as the honour, must rest with others.

I have felt it to be my humble duty to state, in the strongest terms, my opinion as to the *absolute necessity* of such a measure; but it is for STATESMEN, not for the solitary student, or for men whose minds are devoted to other pursuits, to excogitate and plan and carry into effect so grand a work. Though surrounded with many and great difficulties, I regard it as PERFECTLY PRACTICA-

BLE; and, indeed, as a task greatly more easy than several which have, in recent times, received the sanction of the imperial legislature. The same wisdom and zeal and noble resolution which carried to a successful and triumphant issue, THE EMANCIPATION OF OUR SLAVES, THE EMANCIPATION OF THE CATHOLICS, THE REFORM BILL, and FREE TRADE, will find the task proposed quite within their grasp; and it is to be hoped that its accomplishment is destined to shed around the memory of some of our living statesmen, a portion of the same glorious light that must render conspicuous through all time the names of the authors of the great acts referred to.

And here I, at length, terminate my MEMORANDUMS MADE IN IRELAND, and the commentaries and opinions naturally suggested during their transcription. I submit the whole to the candid judgment of the public, with a deep sense of the imperfection of my work, but with a lively consciousness that, in writing it, I have been animated by a sincere desire to learn and to speak the truth, and to do good according to my humble means.

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